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OF THE
SACRED ORDER,
AND OFFICES OF
EPISCOPACY,

BY DIVINE INSTITUTION,
Apostolicall Tradition,
& Catholike practice,

TOGETHER

With their titles of Honour, Secular
employment, manner of election, dele-
gation of their power, and other appen-
dant questions, asserted against the
Aerians, and Acephali,
new, and old.

By IER. TAYLOR late Fellow of
All-Soules in Oxon.

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*There is no Power but of God. The powers that be are or-
dained of God. Rom. 13. 1.*

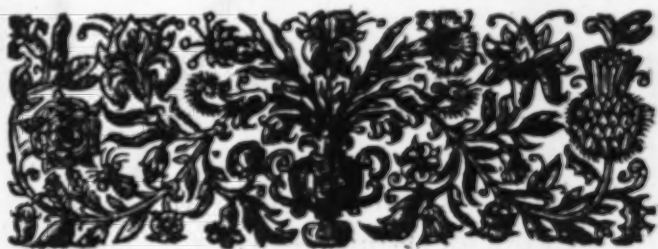
Concil. Chalced.

Διότι ὁ κελος καὶ Πατὴρ. Πάντες τὰ αὐτὰ λέγουσιν.

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TO THE
TRVLY VVORTHY,
AND MOST ACCOMPLISHT
S^t CHRISTOPHER HATTON
*Knight of the Honourable Order
of the BATH.*

SIR,



AM ingag'd in the de-
fence of a Great Truth,
and J would willingly
finde a shrowd to cover
my selfe from danger, and
calumny ; and although
the cause both is & ought
to be defended by Kings, yet my person must

§ 2

nor

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not goe thither to Sanctuary, unlesse it be to pay my devotion, and I have now no other left for my defence, I am rob'd of that which once did blesse me, and indeed still does, (but in another manner) and I hope will doe more; but those distillations of cœlestiall dewes are conveyed in Channels not pervious to an eye of sense, and now adayes we seldome look with other, be the object never so beauteous or alluring. You may then think, *Sir*, I am forc'd upon You; may that beg my pardon and excuse, but I should do an injury to Your Noblenesse, if I should onely make You a refuge for my need, (pardon this truth) you are allo of the fairest choice, not only for Your love of Learning, (for although that be eminent in You, yet it is not Your eminence) but for Your duty to H. Church, for Your loyalty to His sacred *Majestie*. These did prompt me with the greatest confidence to hope for Your faire encouragement, and assistance in my pleadings for *Episcopacy*, in which cause Religion, and *Majesty*, the *King*, and the *Church* are interested as parties of mutuall concernment.

There was an odde observation made long
agoe

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agoe, and registred in the Law to make it authenticke, *Laici sunt infensi Clericis*. Now the Clergy pray, but fight not, and therefore if not specially protected by the King *contra Ecclesiam Malignantium*, they are made obnoxious to all the contumelies, and injuries, which an envious multitude will inflict upon them. It was observ'd enough in King Edgars time, *Quamvis decreta Pontificum, & verba Sacerdotum in convulsis ligaminibus velut fundamenta montium fixa sunt, tamen plerumq; tempestatibus, & turbinibus secularium rerum Religio S. Matris Ecclesie maculis reprobis dissipatur, ac rumpitur. Idcirco Decrevimus Nos &c.* There was a sad example of it in K. Iohn's time. For when he threw the Clergy from his Protection, it is incredible what injuries, what affronts, what robberies, yea what murders were committed upon the Bishops, and Priests of H. Church, whom neither the Sacrednesse of their persons, nor the Lawes of God, nor the terrors of Conscience, nor feares of Hell, nor Church-censures, nor the Lawes of Hospitality could protect from Scorne, from blowes, from slaughter. Now there being so

*In charta
Edgar. Regis.
A. D. 488.
apud Hen.
Spelman.*

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neer a tye as the necessity of their own preservation in the midst of so apparent danger, it will tye the *Bishops* hearts, and hands to the King faster then all the tyes of Lay-Allegiance, (all the Politicall tyes I mean,) all that are not precisely religious, and obligations in the Court of Conscience.

2. But the interest of the *Bishops* is conjunct with the prosperity of the *King*, besides the interest of their own securitie; by the obligation of secular advantages. For they who have their livelyhood from the *King*, and are in expectance of their fortune from him are more likely to pay a tribute of exacter duty, then others, whose fortunes are not in such immediate dependancy on His Majesty. *Aeneas Sylvius* once gave a merry reason why Clerks advanced the Pope above a Councill, viz. because the Pope gave spirituall promotions, but the Counells gave none. It is but the Common expectation of gratitude, that a Patron Paramount shall be more assisted by his Beneficiaries in cases of necessity, then by those, who receive nothing from him but the common influences of Government.

3. But

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3. But the *Bishops* duty to the *King* derives it selfe from a higher fountaine. For it is one of the maine excellencies in Christianity, that it advances the State, and well being of Monarchies, and Bodies Politique. Now then the Fathers of Religion the Reverend *Bishops*, whose peculiar office it is to promote the interests of Christianity, are by the nature and essentiall requisites of their office bound to promote the Honour and Dignity of *Kings*, whom Christianity would have so much honour'd, as to establish the just subordination of people to their Prince, upon better principles then ever, no lesse then their precise duty to God, and the hopes of a blissefull immortality. Here then is *utile, honestum, and necessarium*, to tye *Bishops* in duty to *Kings*, and a threefold Cord is not easily broken.

In pursuance of these obligations *Episcopacy* payes three returnes of tribute to Monarchy.

1. The first is the Duty of their people. For they being by God himselfe set over soules, judges of the most secret recesses of our Consciences, and the venerable Priests under them,
have

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have more power to keep men in their duteous subordination to the Prince, then there is in any secular power, by how much more forcible the impressions of the Conscience are, then all the externall violence in the world. And this power they have fairely put into act, for there was never any Protestant *Bishop* yet in Rebellion, unlesse he turn'd recreant to his Order, and it is the honour of the Church of *England*, that all her Children, and obedient people are full of indignation against Rebels; be they of any interest, or party whatsoever. For here (& for it wethanke God and good Princes) *Episcopacy* hath been preserv'd in faire priviledges and honour, and God hath blest and honour'd *Episcopacy* with the conjunction of a loyall people. As if because in the law of Nature the Kingdome and Priesthood were joyned in one person, it were naturall, and consonant to the first justice, that Kings should defend the rights of the Church, and the Church advance the honour of *Kings*. And when I consider that the first *Bishop* that was ex-auctorated was a Prince too, Prince, and *Bishop* of *Geneva*, me thinks it was an ill *Omen*, that the
cause

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cause of the *Prince*, and the *Bishop* should be in Conjunction ever after.

2. A second returne that *Episcopacy* makes to *Royalty* is that which is the Duty of all Christians, the paying tributes, and impositions. And though all the *Kings* Leige people doe it, yet the issues of their duty, and liberality are mightily disproportionate if we consider their unequall Number, and Revenues. And if Clergy-subsidies be estimated according to the smallnesse of their revenue, and paucity of persons, it will not be half so short of the number, and weight of Crownes from Lay Dispensation, as it does farre exceed in the proportion of the Donative.

3. But the assistance that the *Kings* of England had in their Counsells, and affaires of greatest difficulty, from the great ability of *Bishops*, and other the Ministers of the Church, I desire to represent in the words of K. *Alfred* to *Walffigew* the *Bishop*, in an Epistle where he deplores the misery of his owne age by comparing it with the former times, when the *Bishops* were learn'd, and exercis'd in publike Counsels.

*Falicia tum tempora fuerunt inter omnes Anglia
populos;*

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populos; Reges Deo, & scriptæ ejus voluntati obse-
 cundârunt in suâ pace, & bellicis expeditionibus, atq;
 regimine domestico domi se semper tutati fuerint,
 atq; etiam foris nobilitatem suam dilataverint. The
 reason was, as he insinuates before, *Sapientes ex-
 titerunt in Anglicâ gente de spiritali gradu &c.*
 The *Bishops* were able by their great learning,
 and wisdom to give assistance to the *Kings* af-
 faires. And they have prosper'd in it, for the most
 glorious issues of Divine Benison upon this
 Kingdome were conveyed to us by *Bishops*
 hands, I meane the Union of the houses of *York*
 & *Lancaster*, by the Counsell of ^a *Bishop Morton*,
 and of *England* & *Scotland* by the treaty of ^b *Bi-
 shop Fox*, to which if we adde two other in *Ma-
 teria religionis*, I meane the conversion of the
 Kingdom from *Paganisme*, by *S^t Augustine Arch-
 bishop of Canterbury*; and the reformation, begun
 and promoted by *Bishops*, I think we cannot call
 to mind foure blessings equall to these in any
 age or Kingdome, in all which God was pleased
 by the mediation of *Bishops*, as he useth to doe,
 to blesse the people. And this may not only be
 expected in reason, but in good Divinity, for a-
 mongst

a Iohn
 Speeds Hist.
 l. 9. c. 19 n.
 23 p 716.
 b J. wil. c. 20.
 n. 64. p 747.

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mongst the gifts of the spirit, which God hath
givent to his Church, are reckon'd *Doctōrs, Teach-
ers, and* * *helps in government*. To which may be ^{* 1. Cor. cap.}
added this advantage, that the services of ^{12. v. 28.}
Church-men are rewardable upon the Church-
stock; no need to disimprove the Royall
Banks to pay thanks to *Bishops*.

But, Sir, I grow troublesome. Let this dis-
course have what ends it can; the use I make of
it, is but to pretend reason for my Boldnesse, and
to entitle You to my Book: for I am confident
you will owne any thing that is but a friends
friend to a cause of Loyalty. I have nothing else
to plead for your acceptance, but the confidence
of your Goodnesse, and that I am a person cape-
able of your pardon, and of a faire interpretation
of my addresse to you, by being

S I R

Your most affectionate Servant

J. TAYLOR.





Syllabus Paragraphorum.

- §. 1. *Christ did institute a government in his Church.* p. 7
2. *This government was first committed to the Apostles by Christ,* p. 12
3. *With a power of joyning others and appointing Successours in the Apostolate,* p. 13
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Syllabus Paragraphorum.

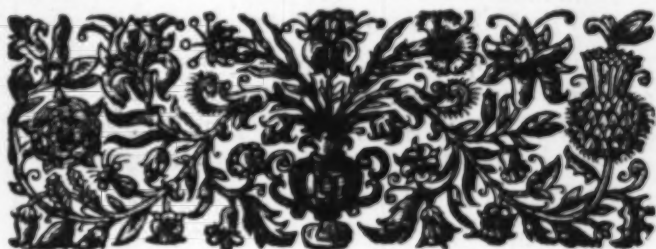
- shoprick, p. 161
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51 But they were ever Clergy-men, for there never was any lay-Elders in any Church-office heard of in the Church. P.375

ERRATA.

Pag. 11, line 8. *insert*, except S John. Pag. 141. l. 15. Presbyters, read Bishops. Pag. 143. line 14. after Episcopacy, *insert* &c. & l. 15. after Bishops *insert* Clerk. Pag. 354. l. 11. read were Farmers.



OF THE
Sacred Order, and Offices of
EPISCOPACY
BY DIVINE INSTITUTION,
APOSTOLICALL TRADITION,
& *Catholick practise &c.*



N all those accursed machinations, which the device, and artifice of Hell hath invented, for the supplanting of the Church, *Inimicus homo*, that old *superseminator of heresies*, and crude mischiefs, hath indeavoured, to be curiously compendious, and with *Tarquin's device*, put *are summa papaverum*. And therefore in the three ages of *Martyrs*, it was a rul'd case

A case

case in that *Burgundian* forge, *Qui prior erat dignitate prior traheretur ad Martyrium*. The Priests, but to be lure the Bishops must pay for all. *Tolle impios, Polycarpus requiratur*. Away with these pedling persecutions, *ἀφῆλθω τοῦτο πλῆθος*. Lay the axe at the root of the tree. Infomuch that in *Rome* from *S. Peter*, and *S. Paul* to *S. Sylvester*, thirty three Bishops of *Rome*, in immediate succession, suffered an Honourable, and glorious Martyrdome, unlesse * *Mel. tiades* be perhaps excepted, whom *Eusebius*, and *Optatus* report to have lived till the time of the third Consulship of *Constantine* and *Licinius*. *Conteret caput ejus*, was the glorious promise, Christ should break the Divell's head, and though the Divell's active part of the Duell was farre lesse, yet he would venture at that too, even to strike at the heads of the Church, *capita vicaria*, for the head of all was past his striking now; And this, I say, he offered to doe by Martyrdome, but that instead of breaking, crown'd them.

His next onset was by *Julian*, and *occidere Presbyterium*, that was his Province. To shut up publick Schooles, to force Christians to ignorance, to impoverish, and disgrace the Clergy, to make them vile, and dishonourable, these were his arts; and he did the Divell more service in this fineness of undermining, then all the open battery of the ten great Rammes of persecution. But this would not take. For, *that which is without cannot defile a man*. So it is in the Church too. *Cedunt in bonum*, all violences *ab extrâ*.

* *Maximini*
jussu Marty-
rio coronatur.
Saith Platina,
but that is
wholly un-
certaine.

But

But therefore besides these he attempted by *heresies* to rent the Churches bowels all in pieces, but the good *Bishops* gathered up the scattered pieces & reunited them at *Nice*, at *Constantinople*, at *Ephesus*, at *Chalcedon*, at *Carthage*, at *Rome*, and in every famous place of Christendome, and by God's goodness, and the *Bishops* industry Catholick religion was conserved in Vnity, and integrity. Well! however it is, *Antichrist* must come at last, and the great *Apostacy* foretold must be, and this, not without means proportionable to the production of so great declensions of Christianity. *When ye heare of warres, and rumors of warres, be not afraid* (said our B. Saviour,) *the end is not yet.* It is not warre that will doe this great work of destruction, for then it might have been done long 'ere now. What then will doe it? We shall know when we see it. In the meane time when we shall find a new device, of which indeed the platforme was laid, in *Aërius*, and the *Acephali*, brought to a good possibility of compleating, a thing that *whosoever shall heare, his ears shall tingle, an abomination of desolation standing where it ought not, in sacris, in holy persons, and places, and offices*, it is too probable that this is the preparatory for the *Antichrist*, and grand *Apostacy*.

For if *Antichrist* shall exalt himselfe above all that is called *God*, and in Scripture none but *Kings*, and *Priests* are such, *Dii vocati, Dii facti*, I think we have great reason to be suspitious, that he that deuests both of their power (and they are, if the

King be Christian, in very neer conjunction,) does the work of *Antichrist* for him; especially if the men, whom it most concernes, will but call to mind, that the discipline, or Government, which Christ hath instituted, is that Kingdome, by which he governes all Christendome (so themselves have taught us) so that, in case it be proved, that *Episcopacy* is that government, then they (to use their own expressions) throw *Christ* out of his Kingdome; and then, either they leave the Church without a head, or else put *Antichrist* in substitution.

1. We all wish, that our feares in this, and all things else, may be vaine, that what we feare, may not come upon us; but yet that the *abolition of Episcopacy* is the fore-runner, and preparatory to the great *Apostacy*, I have these reasons to shew, at least the probability. *First*, Because here is a concurse of times; for now after that these times have been called the *last times*, for 1600 years together, our expectation of the *Great revelation* is very neer accomplishing; & what a *Grand innovation of Ecclesiasticall government*, contrary to the faith, & practice of *Christendome*, may portend now in these times, when we all expect *Antichrist* to be revealed is worthy of a jealous mans inquiry.
2. *Secondly*, *Episcopacy*, if we consider the finall cause, was instituted as an *obstructive to the diffusion of Schisme and Heresy*. So * *S. Hierome*. *In toto orbe decretum est, ut unus de Presbyteris electus superponeretur ceteris, Vt SCHISMATVM SEMINA TOLLERENTUR*. And therefore if *Vnity* and *division* be destructive of each

* in 1. ad Titũ

each other, then *Episcopacy* is the best *deletery* in the world for *Schisme*: and to much the rather because they are in *eâdem materiâ*; for *Schisme* is a division for things either personall, or accidentall, which are matters, most properly the subject of government, and there to be tryed, thereto receive their first, and last breath, except where they are starv'd to death by a *desuetude*; and *Episcopacy* is an Unity of person governing, and ordering persons, and things, accidentall, and substantiall; and therefore a direct confronting of *Schisme*, not only in the *intention* of the author of it, but in the *nature of the institution*. Now then, although *Schismes* alwaies will be, and this by divine prediction (which clearly shoves the *necessity* of perpetuall *Episcopacy*, and the *intention* of its perpetuity, either by *Christ* himselfe ordaining it, who made the prophecy, or by the *Apostles* and *Apostolick men* at least, who knew the prophecy:) yet to be sure, these divisions, and dangers shall be greater about, and at the time of the *Great Apostacy*; for then, were not the houres turned into minutes, an universall ruine should seize all *Christendome* [*No flesh should be saved if those daies were not shortned.*] is it not next to an evidence of fact, that this multiplication of *Schismes* must be *removendo prohibens*? and therefore that must be by *invalidating Episcopacy*, or dayn'd as the remedy and obex of *Schisme*, either tying their hands behind them, by taking away their *coercion*, or by putting out their eyes, by denying them *cognisance of causes spirituall*, or by *cutting off their heads*, and so de-

stroying their order. How farre these will lead us, I leave to be considered. This only; *Percute pastores, atq; oves despergentur*; and I believe it will be verified at the coming of that wicked one, *I saw all Israel scattered upon the Mountaines as sheep having no sheapheard.*

Epist. 55.

I am not new in this conception, I learn't it of S. Cyprian; *Christi adversarius, & Ecclesia ejus inimicus ad hoc, Ecclesiae PRÆPOSITVM suā infestatione persequitur, ut, Gubernatore sublato, atrocius, atq; violentius circa Ecclesia naufragia grassetur.* The adversary of Christ and enemy of his Spouse therefore persecutes the Bishop, that having taken him away, he may without check pride himselfe in the ruines of the Church; and a little after speaking of them, that are enemies to Bishops, he sayes, that, *Antichristi jam propinquantis adventum imitantur*, their deportment is just after the guise of Antichrist who is shortly to be revealed.

But be this conjecture vaine, or not, the thing, of it selfe is of deep consideration, and the *Catholick practise of Christendome for 1500 years* is so insupportable a prejudice against the enemies of Episcopacy, that they must bring admirable evidence of Scripture, or a cleare revelation proved by Miracles, or a contrary undoubted tradition Apostolicall for themselves, or else hope for no beliefe against the prescribed possession of so many ages.

But before I begin, mee thinks in this contestation, *ubi potior est conditio possidentis*, it is a considerable Question; what will the Adversaries stake against

gainst it? For it *Episcopacy* cannot make its title good, they loose the benefit of their prescribed possession. If it can; I feare they will scarce gain so much, as the *obedience* of the adverse party by it, which yet already is their due. It is very unequall; but so it is ever, when *Authority* is the matter of the Question. Authority never gaines by it; for although the cause goe on its side, yet it looses *costs*, and *dammages*; for it must either by faire condescension to gain the adversaries, loose something of it selfe, or, if it asserts it selfe to the utmost, it is but where it was; but that seldome or never happens, for the very questioning of any authority, *hoc ipso*, makes a great intrenchment even to the very skirts of its cloathing.

But *huc deveniunt est*. Now we are in, we must goe over.

First then, that wee may build upon a Rock. §. 1. *Christ* did institute a *government* to order and rule his Church by his authority, according to his lawes, and by the assistance of the B. Spirit. *Christ* did institute a government in his Church.

1. If this were not true, how shall the Church be governed? For I hope the adversaries of *Episcopacy*, that are so punctuall to pitch all upon Scripture ground, will be sure to produce cleare Scripture for so maine a part of Christianity, as is the forme of the Government of Christs Church. And, if for our private actions, and duries *Oeconomical*, they will pretend a text, I suppose, it will not be thought possible, Scripture should make default in

in assignation of the *publick. Government*, inso-
much as all lawes intend the publick, and the gene-
rall directly; the private, and the particular, by con-
sequence only, and comprehension within the ge-
nerall.

2. If Christ himselfe did not take order for a
government, then we must derive it from *humane
prudence*, and emergency of conveniences, and con-
currence of new circumstances, and then the Govern-
ment must often be *changed*, or else time must stand
still, and things be ever in the same state and possibi-
lity. Both the consequents are extreemely full of in-
convenience. For if it be left to *humane prudence*,
then either the government of the Church is not in
immediate order to the good, and benifon of soules,
or if it be, that such an institution, in such immedi-
ate order to eternity, should be dependant upon *hu-
mane prudence*, it were to trust such a rich commo-
dity in a cock-boat, that no wise Pilot will be sup-
posed to doe. But if there be often *changes* in go-
vernment Ecclesiasticall (which was the other
consequent) in the publicke frame I meane, and con-
stitution of it; either the certain infinity of Schismes
will arise, or the dangerous issues of publick incon-
sistence, and innovation, which, in matters of reli-
gion, is good for nothing, but to make men di-
strust all; and, come the best that can come, there
will be so many *Church governments*, as there are
humane Prudences. For so (if I be not mis-infor-
med) it is abroad in some townes that have *dis-
charged Episcopacy*. At *St Gallen* in *Switzerland*
there

there the *Ministers*, and *Lay-men* rule in *Common*, but a *Lay-man* is *president*. But the Consistories of *Zurick* and *Basil* are wholly consistent of *Lay-men*, and *Ministers* are joyned as *assitants* only, and *Counsellors*, but at *Schaffhausen* the *Ministers* are not admitted to so much, but in the *Huguenot Churches of France*, the *Ministers* doe all.

3. In such cases, where there is no power of the sword for a compulsory (and confessedly of all sides there can be none in causes & Courts Ecclesiasticall) if there be no opinion of Religion, no derivation from a divine authority, there will be sure to be no obedience, and indeed nothing but a certain, publick, calamitous irregularity. For why should they obey? Not for *Conscience*, for there is no derivation from divine authority. Not for *fear*, for they have not the *power of the sword*.

4. If there be such a thing as the power of the keyes, by Christ concredited to his Church, for the binding and loosing delinquents, and penitents respectively on earth, then there is clearly a Court erected by Christ in his Church, for here is the delegation of Iudges, *Tu Petrus, vos Apostoli*, whatsoever ye shall bind. Here is a compulsory, *ligaveritis*; Here are the causes of which they take cognisance, *Quodcunq;*; viz. *in materia scandali*. For so it is limited *Matth. 18.* but it is indefinite *Matth. 16.* and Vniversall, *Iohn. 20.* which yet is to be understood *secundum materiam subiectam*, in causes, which are emergent from Christianity, *ut scilicet*, that secular jurisdictions may not be intrenched upon. But of this

hereafter. That Christ did in this place erect a *Jurisdiction*, and establish a *government* (besides the evidence of fact) is generally asserted by primitive exposition of the Fathers, affirming, that to *S. Peter* the *Keyes* were given, that to the *Church* of all ages a power of *binding* and *loosing* might be communicated. *Has igitur claves dedit Ecclesia, ut qua solveret in terrâ, soluta essent in cælo; scil. ut quisquis in Ecclesiâ ejus dimitti sibi peccata crederet, seq. ab iis correctus averteret in ejusdem Ecclesiâ gremio constitutus eâdem fide atq. correctione sanaretur.* So

* *S. Austin.* And againe, *Omnibus igitur sanctis ad Christi lib. 1. Christi corpus inseparabiliter pertinentibus propter c. 18. tract. hujus vite procellosissima gubernaculum ad liganda 118. in Iohan. & solvenda peccata claves regni cælorum primus A. tract. 124. & postolorum Petrus accepit; Quoniam nec ille solus, sed vide etiam Ioh. de Agon. universa Ecclesia ligat, solvitq. peccata. S. Peter Christ. cap. 30 first received the government in the power of binding and loosing. But not he alone but all the Church, Donatij. lib. to wit, all succession, and ages of the Church. Vni. 3. c. 17. versa Ecclesia, viz. in Pastoribus solis, as * *S. Chrysostom*, *In Episcopis & Presbyteris* as † *S. Jerome*. The whole Church, as it is represented in the Bishops and*

a Lib. de pu-
dicit.

b Epist. 27.

c Lib. qd Chri-
stus est Deus.

d Lib. 6. de
Trinit.

e Lib. 3. in
Apocal.

Luke, 12. 42.

b *S. Cyprian*, c *S. Chrysostome*, d *S. Hilary*, e *Primasius*, and generally by the Fathers of the elder, and Divines of the middle ages.

5. When our blessed Saviour had spoken a parable of the sudden coming of the Sonne of Man, & commanded them therefore with diligence to stand upon their watch, the Disciples asked him, *speakest thou*

thou this parable to us, or even to all? And the Lord said, who then is that faithfull and wise steward, whom his Lord shall make ruler over his household to give them their portion of meat in due season? As it he had said, I speak to You, for to whom else should I speak and give caution for the looking to the house in the Masters absence? You are by office and designation my Stewards, to feed my servants, to governe my house.

6. In Scripture, and other writers, to Feed, and to Govern, is all one when the office is either Politicall or Oeconomicall, or Ecclesiasticall. So he Psal. 78. FED them with a faithfull and true heart, and RULED them prudently with all his power. And S. Peter joynes, ἐπισκοπῶντες and ποιμαίνοντες together. 1. Pet. 5. 2. ποιμαίνει τὸ ἐν ὑμῖν ποίμνιον τῷ Θεῷ, ἐπισκοπῶντες. So does Act. 20. S. Paul, προσέχει ὡς ἑαυτοῖς καὶ πᾶσι τῷ ποιμαίνῃ ἐν ᾧ ὑμεῖς τὸ πνῆμα τὸ ἅγιον ἔχετε Ἐπιστάτας. Ἐπιστάτας ἐς ποιμῆν. Rulers or overseers in a flock. Pastors. It is ordinary. ποιμένα λαῶν. Homer. 1, 1, βασιλῆα ὄχλων. Euripides calls the Governors and guides of Chariots, ποιμένας ὄχων. And our blessed Saviour himselfe is called the Great sheapheard of our soules; and that we may know the *intensum* of that compellation, it is in conjunction also with Ἐπίσκοποι. He is therefore our sheapheard, for he is our Bishop, our Ruler, and Overseer. Since then Christ hath left Pastors or Feeders in his Church, it is also as certain he hath left Rulers, they being both one in name, in person, in office. But this is of a known truth to all that understand either lawes or language

* in lib. de co
quod deterior
potiori insi-
diatur.

ges: *ἡ δὲ τοιαύτη ἀρχὴ καὶ ἐκείνη ἐστὶν ἀνάγκη*
saith * *Philo*, they that feed have the power of
Princes and rulers; the thing is an undoubted truth
to most men, but because all are not of a mind
something was necessary for confirmation of it.

§ 2.
This go-
vernment
was first
committed
to the A-
postles by
Christ

THis government was by immediate substitution
delegated to the *Apostles* by Christ himselfe,
in traditione clavium, in inspiratione Spiritus, in mis-
sione in Pentecoste. When Christ promised them
the *Keyes*, he promised them power to bind and
loose, when he breathed on them the holy Ghost,
he gave them that actually, to which by the former
promise they were intitled; and in the octaves of the
Passion, he gave them the same authority, which he
had received from his Father, and they were the
faithfull and wise stewards whom the Lord made
RULERS over his Household. * But I shall not la-
bour much upon this. Their founding all the Chur-
ches from East to West, and so, by being Fathers,
derived their authority from the nature of the
thing, their appointing rulers in every Church, their
Synodall decrees *de Suffocato & Sanguine*, and let-
ters missive to the Churches of *Syria* and *Cilicia*,
their excommunications of *Hymeneus*, *Alexander*,
and the incestuous *Corinthian*, their commanding,
and requiring obedience of their people in all
things, as *S. Paul* did of his subjects of *Corinth*, and
the *Hebrews* by precept Apostolicall, their threat-
ning the Pastorall rod, their calling Synods and
publick assemblies, their ordering rites and ceremo-
nies,

* vide Hila-
rium in hunc
locum & pp.
communiter.

nies, composing a Symbole as the *testera* of Christianity, their publick reprehension of delinquents, and indeed the whole execution of their Apostolate is one continued argument of their *superintendency*, and *superiority of jurisdiction*.

THIS power so delegated was not to expire with § 3.
 their *Persons*; For when the Great sheapheard With a
 had reduced his wandring sheep into a fold, he power of
 would not leave them without *guides* to *govern* joyning o-
 them, so long as the wolfe might possibly prey up- thers and
 on them, and that is, till the last separation of the appointing
 Sheep from the Goats. And this Christ intimates successors
 in that promise, *Ero vobiscum (Apostolis) usq; ad* in the A-
consummationem seculi. Vobiscum; not with your postolate
persons, for they dyed long agoe, but *vobiscum &*
vestri similibus, with Apostles to the end of the
 world. And therefore that the Apostolate might
 be successive and perpetuall, Christ gave them a
power of ordination, that by imposing hands on o-
 thers they might impart that *power* which they re-
 ceived from *Christ*. For in the Apostles there was
 something *extraordinary*; something *ordinary*.
 Whatsoever was *extraordinary*, as *immediate mis-*
ion, unlimited jurisdiction, and miraculous operati-
ons, that was not necessary to the perpetuall regi-
 ment of the Church, for then the Church should
 faile when these priviledges extraordinary did
 cease. It was not therefore in extraordinary powers
 and priviledges that Christ promised his perpetuall
 assistance; not in speaking of tongues, not in doing

miracles, whether in *Materia censura*, as delivering to Sathan; or, in *materia misericordia*, as healing sick people; or in *re Naturali*, as in resisting the venom of Vipers, and quenching the violence of flames; in these Christ did not promise perpetuall assistance, for then it had been done, and still these signes should have followed them that believe. But we see they doe not. It followes then, that in all the ordinary parts of power and office Christ did promise to be with them to the end of the world, and therefore there must remaine a power of giving faculty, and capacity to persons successively for the execution of that, in which Christ promised perpetuall assistance. For since this perpetuall assistance could not be meant of abiding with their persons, who in few years were to forsake the world, it must needs be understood of their function, which either it must be succeeded to, or else it was as temporary as their persons. But in the extraordinary priviledges of the Apostles they had no successors, therefore of necessity a succession must be constituted in the ordinary office of Apostolate. Now what is this ordinary office? Most certainly since the extraordinary (as is evident) was only a helpe for the founding and beginning, the other are such as are necessary for the perpetuating of a Church. Now in clear evidence of sence, these offices and powers are *Preaching, Baptizing, Consecrating, Ordaining, and Governing*. For these were necessary for the perpetuating of a Church, unlesse men could be Christians that were never Christned, nourished
up

up to life without the Eucharist, become Priests without calling of God and Ordination, have their sinnes pardoned without absolution, be members and parts and sonnes of a Church whereof there is no coadunation, no authority, no Government. These the Apostles had without all Question, and whatsoever they had, they had from Christ, and these were eternally necessary, these then were the offices of the Apostolate, which Christ promised to assist for ever, and this is that which we now call the Order and Office of Episcopacy.

FOR although *Deacons* and *Priests* have part of these offices, and therefore (though in a very limited sence) they may be called *successores Apostolorum*, to wit, in the power of *Baptizing*, *consecrating the Eucharist*, and *Preaching* (an excellent example whereof, though we have none in Scripture, yet if I mistake him not we have in *Ignatius*, calling the Colledge of Presbyters *ἐκκλησίαν Ἀποστόλων*, a Combination of Apostles) yet the Apostolate and Episcopacy which did communicate in all the power, and offices which were ordinary and perpetuall, are in Scripture clearly all one in ordinary ministrat- ion, and their names are often used in common to signify exactly the same ordinary function.

§ 4.

This suc-
cession into
the ordina-
ry office of
Apostolate
is made by
Bishops

1. The name was borrowed from the Prophet David in the prediction of the Apostacy of *Judas*, and Surrogation of *S. Matthias*, καὶ τὸν ἐν-
στανέντα αὐτῷ ἀποστολὴν ἔστη. His *Bishoprick*, that is, his A-
postolate

For the A-
postle and
the Bishop
are all one
in name &
person

folate let another take. The same word according to the translation of the 70. is used by the Prophet *I. saiah*, in an Evangelicall prediction, *καὶ δώσω τοῖς ἀρχιερεῖς σου εἰρήνην, καὶ τοῖς ἐπίσκοποις σου εἰρήνην καὶ δικαιοσύνην.* I will give thy Princes in peace, and thy Bishops in righteousnesse. *Principes Ecclesie vocat futuros Episcopos*, saith * *S. Hierome*, herein admiring Gods Majesty in the destination of such Ministers whom himselfe calls Princes. And to this issue it is cited by *S. Clement* in his famous epistle to the Corinthians. But this is no waies unusuall in Scripture. For,

* In cap. 60.
Isai. v. 17.

2. *S. James* the Brother of our Lord is called an Apostle, and yet he was not in the number of the twelve, but he was Bishop of *Ierusalem*. 1. That *S. James* was called an Apostle appears by the testimony of *S. Paul*, [*But other Apostles saw I none, save James the Lords Brother.*] 2. That he was none of the twelve, appears also because among the twelve Apostles, there were but two *James's*. The sonne of *Alpheus*, and *James* the sonne of *Zebedee*, the Brother of *Iohn*. But neither of these was the *James* whom *S. Paul* calls the Lords brother. And this *S. Paul* intimates in making a distinct enumeration of all the appearances which Christ made after the resurrection. First to *Cephas*, then to the twelve, then to the 500. Brethren, then to *James*, then to all the Apostles. So that here *S. James* is reckoned distinctly from the twelve, and they from the whole Colledge of the Apostles, for there were (it seems) more of that dignity then the twelve. But this will also safely rely upon the concurrent testimony of *Hegeſip.*

1. Galat. 19.

1. Corin. 15.

* *Hegeſippus*, * *S. Clement*, *Eusebius*, *Epiphanius*, * *Vide Carol.*
S. Ambroſe, and *S. Hierome*. 3. That *S. James* was *Borvium in*
Bishop of *Ierusalem*, and therefore called an *Apoſt.*
poſtle, appears by the often commemoration of his *Schol. Hieron.*
preſidency, and ſingular eminency in holy Scrip- *de Script. Ec-*
ture. Priority of order is mentioned, *Galat. 2.* even *cl. in Jacobo.*
before S. Peter, who yet was *primus Apoſtolorum*, *et in 1. Ga-*
natur à unus homo, Gratià unus Chriſtianus, abundan-
tiore gratià unus idemq; primus Apoſtolus; (as *S. Au-* *lat. Epiphani-*
ſtin) yet in his own dioceſſe *S. James* had priority of *hæreſ. 78, 79.*
order before him. *v. 9.* And when *1 James*, *2 Ce-* *Traſſ. 124. in*
phas, and *3 Iohn*, &c. *First James* before *Cephas*
and S. Peter. *S. James* alſo was *preſident* of that *Sy-*
nod which the *Apoſtles* convoked at *Ierusalem* a-
bout the Queſtion of *circumciſion*, as is to be ſeen
** Act. 15.* to him *S. Paul* made his addreſſe, *Act. 21.* * *Vide pag.*
to him the brethren carried him, where he was
found ſitting in his *Colledge* of *Presbyters*, there
he was alwaies reſident, and his ſeat fixt, and that
he liv'd Bishop of *Ierusalem* for many years toge-
ther, is clearly teſtified by all the faith of the *Pri-*
mitive Fathe.s and *Historians*. But of this here-
after.

3. *Epaphroditus* is called the *Apoſtle* of the
Philippians. I have ſent unto you *Epaphroditus* *Philip. 2. 25.*
συνεργον, και ους εκπροσωπω υμων η' Αποστολον, My com-
peere and your *Apoſtle*. *Gradum Apoſtolatus rece-* *In hunc locum*
pit Epaphroditus, ſaith *Primasius*, and what that is *uterq; et*
we are told by *Theodore*, dictus *Philippensium Apo-* *Theod. in 1;*
ſtolus à S. Paulo, quid hoc aliud niſi Episcopus? *Tim 3.*
Be-
cauſe he alſo had received the office of being an *A-*
pople

postle among them, saith *S. Jerome* upon the same place; and it is very observeable, that those Apostles to whom our blessed Saviour gave immediate substitution are called Ἀπόστολοι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, Apostles of Iesus Christ, but those other men which were Bishops of Churches, and called Apostles by Scripture, are called Ἀπόστολοι Ἐκκλησιῶν, Apostles of Churches, or sometime Apostles, alone, but never are intituled of Iesus Christ. *Other of the Apostles saw I none but James the Lords Brother, Gal. 1.* There *S. James* the Bishop of Ierusalem is called an Apostle indefinitely. But *S. Paul* calls himselfe often the Apostle of Iesus Christ, not of man, neither by man, but by Iesus Christ. So, *Peter* an Apostle of Iesus Christ, but *S. James* in his Epistle to the Jewes of the dispersion, writes not himselfe the Apostle of Iesus Christ, but δούλος Θεοῦ καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. *James* the servant of God and of the Lord Iesus Christ.

- Further yet: *S. Paul*, although as having an immediate calling from Christ to the office of Apostolate at large, calls himselfe the Apostle of Iesus Christ, yet when he was sent to preach to the Gentiles by the particular direction indeed of the holy Ghost, but by Humane constitution, and imposition of hands; in relation to that part of his office, and his cure of the uncircumcision, he limits his Apostolateto his Diocesse and calls himselfe, Ἀπόστολος ἰσθῶν, *The Apostle of the Gentiles*; as *S. Peter* for the same reason, and in the same modification is called Galat. 2. 8. Ἀπόστολος πνευματικῆς, that is, *the Apostle of those who were*
- Acts. 13. v. 2.
3.
Rom. 11. 13.
Galat. 2. 8.

of

of the Circumcision. And thus *Epaphroditus* is called the Apostle of the *Philippians*, who clearly was their Bishop (as I shall shew in the sequel) that is, he had an Apostolate limited to the Diocese of *Philippi*. *Paulatim verò tempore procedente, & alii ab his quos Dominus elegeret ordinati sunt Apostoli, sicut ille ad Philippenses sermo declarat, dicens, necessarium autem existimo Epaphroditum, &c.* So S. ^{In 1. cap. Gal. lat.} *Jerome*. In process of time others besides those whom the Lord had chosen, were ordained Apostles; and particularly he instances in *Epaphroditus* from the authority of this instance, adding also that by the Apostles themselves *Iudas* and *Silas* were called Apostles.

4. Thus *Titus*, and some other with him, who came to Jerusalem with the *Corinthian* benevolence, ^{2. Corinth. 8. 23.} are called *ἀποστολοι ἐκκλησιῶν*. The Apostles of the Churches. Apostles, I say, in the Episcopall sense. They were none of the twelve, they were not of immediate divine mission, but of Apostolike ordination, they were actually Bishops as I shall shew hereafter. *Titus* was Bishop of *Crete*, and *Epaphroditus* of *Philippi*, and these were the Apostles, for *Titus* came with the *Corinthian*, *Epaphroditus* with the *Colossian* liberality. Now these men were not *ἀπόστολοι*, called, Messengers in respect of these Churches sending them with their contributions. 1. Because they are not called the Apostles of these Churches, to wit, whose almes they carried, but simply *ἐκκλησιῶν* of the Churches, viz. of their own of which they were Bishops. For if the title of [Apostle] had re-

Verf. 22,

V. 23.

lated to their mission from these Churches, it is unimaginable that there should be no terme of relation expressed. 2. It is very cleare that although they did indeed carry the benevolence of the severall Churches, yet *S. Paul*, not those Churches sent them, *And we have sent with them our Brother, &c.* 3. They are called *Apostles of the Churches*, not going from *Corinth* with the mony, but before they came thither from whence they were to be dispatch't in legation to *Ierusalem*. [*If any enquire of Titus or the Brethren, they are the Apostles of the Church, and the glory of Christ.*] So they were Apostles before they went to *Corinth*, not for their being imployed in the transportation of their charity. So that it is plaine, that their Apostolate being not relative to the Churches whose benevolence they carried, and they having Churches of their own, as *Titus* had *Crete*, *Epaphroditus* had *Philippi*, their Apostolate was a fixt residence, and superintendency of their severall Churches.

§ 5.
And office,

Apocal. 2.

* *Dorothe. Synops.*

BVt in holy Scripture the identity of the ordinary Office of Apostleship and Episcopacy, is clearer yet. For when the holy Spirit had sent seaven letters to the seaven *Asian Bishops*, the *Angell* of the Church of *Ephesus* is commended for trying them, which say they are *Apostles* and are not, and hath found them lyars. This *Angell* of the Church of *Ephesus*, as *Antiquity* hath taught us, was at that time *Timothy*, or *Gajus*, the first a *Disciple*, the other had been an entertainer of the Apostles, and either of them

them knew them well enough; it could not be that any man should dissemble their persons & counterfeit himselfe *S. Paul*, or *S. Peter*. And if they had, yet little trying was needfull to discover their folly in such a case, and whether it was *Timothy* or *Gajus* he could deserve but small commendations for the meer believing of his own eyes and memory. Besides the Apostles all were then dead, and he known to live in *Patmos*, known by the publick attestation of the sentence of relegation *ad insulam*. These men therefore dissembling themselves to be Apostles, must dissemble an ordinary function, not an extraordinary person. And indeed by the concurrence of story, place, and time, *Diotrephes* was the Man, *S. Iohn* chiefly pointed at. For he seeing that of *Ephesus* there had been an Episcopall chayre plac'd, and *Timothy* a long while possess'd of it, and * perhaps *Gajus* after him, if we may trust *Dorotheus*, and the like in some other Churches, and that *S. Iohn* had not constituted Bishops in all the other Churches of the lesser *Asia*, but kept the Iurisdiction to be ministred by himselfe, would arrogantly take upon him to be a Bishop without Apostolicall ordination, obtruding himselfe upon the Church of *Ephesus*, so becoming *ἀντιπρεσβυτέρου*, a busy man in another Diocese. This, and such impostors as this the *Angell* of the Church of *Ephesus* did try, and discover, and convict, and in it he was assisted by *S. Iohn* himselfe, as is intimated in *S. Iohns* third Epistle written to his *Gajus* [v. 9.] *I wrote unto the Church* (to wit of *Asia*) *but Diotrephes who loveth*

*Vide Constit.
Apost. per
Clement. ubi
quidam lo-
bannet in E-
pheso Episc.
post Timoth.
collocatur.

to have the preheminence among them receiveth us not.] Clearly this ~~Adversary~~ would have been a Bishop. It was a matter of ambition, a quarrell for superintendency and preheminence that troubled him; and this also appeares further in that he exercised jurisdiction, and excommunication where he had nothing to doe, [v. 10.] *He forbids them that would receive the Brethren, and casteth them out of the Church.* So that here it is cleare, this false Apostolate, was his ambitious seeking of Episcopall preheminence and jurisdiction without lawfull ordination. *φιλοτιμῶν ὁτις ὁ πρῶτος ᾖ*, that was his designe, He loved to be the first in the Church, *esse Apostolum, esse Episcopum*, to be an Apostle, or a Bishop.

¶ 6.
Which
Christ him-
selfe hath
made di-
stinct from
Presbyters. h

Luke 10.

BUt this office of the ordinary Apostleship or Episcopacy, derives its fountain from a Rock; Christs own distinguishing the Apostolate from the function of Presbyters. For when our blessed Saviour had gathered many Disciples who believed at his first preaching, *Vocavit Discipulos suos, & elegit duodecem ex ipsis quos & Apostolos nominavit*, saith S. Luke. He called his Disciples, and out of them chose twelve, and called them *Apostles*. That was the first election. *Posthac autem designavit Dominus & alios septuaginta duos*. That was his second election; the first were called *Apostles*, the second were not, and yet he sent them by two and two.

We heare but of one commiſſion granted them, which when they had performed and returned
joy-

joyfull at their power over Diabells, wee heare no more of them in the Gospell, but that their Names were written in heaven. Wee are likely therefore to heare of them after the passion, if they can but hold their owne. And so we doe. For after the Passion the Apostles gathered them together, and joyn'd them in Clericall commission by vertue of Christs first ordination of them, for a new ordination we find none in holy Scripture recorded, before we find them doing Clericall offices. *Ananias* we read baptizing of *Saul*, *Philip* the Evangelist we find preaching in *Samaria*, and baptizing his Converts; Others also we find, *Presbyters* at *Ierusalem*, especially at the first Councell, for there was *Judas* surnamed *Iustus*, and *Silas*, and *S. Marke*, and *Iohn* (a *Presbyter*, not an *Apostle* as *Eusebius* reports him) and *Simeon Cleophas* who tarried there till he was made Bishop of *Ierusalem*, these and diverse others, are reckoned to be of the number of the 72, by *Eusebius* and *Dorotheus*. Lib. 3. cap. 31

Here are plainly two offices of Ecclesiasticall Ministries. *Apostles* and *Presbyters*, so the Scripture calls them. These were distinct, and not temporary, but succeeded to, and if so, then here is clearly a Divine institution of two Orders, and yet *Deacons* neither of them. Here let us fix a while.

§ 7.

Giving to Apostles a power to doe some offices perpetually necessary, which to others he gave not.

1. **T**HEN; It is cleare in Scripture that the Apostles did some acts of Ministry which were necessary to be done for ever in the Church, and therefore to be committed to their Successors, which acts

Ecclef. hier-
arch. c. 5.

As of Or-
dination,

* In Trullo.
can. 16.

Heref. 20.

Homil. 14. in
A. 6.

In hunc locū.

acts the seventy Disciples; or Presbyters could not do: ἡ γὰρ ἐκκλησία παρὰ τὰς λοιπὰς τάξεις εἰς ἀναρχίαν ὁ θεὸς θεσμός ἀποτατάμηκε τὰς θεοτετέχνηταις, saith S. Denis of the Highest Order of the Hierarchy. The law of God hath reserved the Greater and Diviner Offices to the Highest Order.

First, the Apostles impos'd hands in Ordinations, which the 72 did not, the case is knowne, A. 6. The Apostles called the Disciples, willing them to choose seven men whom they might constitute in the ministrations and oversight of the poore; They did so, and set them before the twelve Apostles, so they are specified and numbred vers. 2. cum 6. and when they had prayed, they lay'd their hands on them. They, not the Disciples, not the 72 who were there actually present, and seven of them were then ordain'd to this Ministry, for they were not now ordain'd to be δῆκονοι μυστηρίων, but τεραπίστοι, as the * Councell of Constantinople calls them, and that these were of the number of the 72. Disciples, Epiphanius bears witness. He sent other 72. to preach ἕξ ὧν ἕως ἐς ἡπείρ οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν χωρῶν τεταγμένοι, of which Number were those seven ordained and set over the widows. And the same is intimated by S. Chrysostome, if I understand him right, ὁ ποῖον ἢ ἀεὶ ἀξίωμα ἔχον ἔσσι; ἢ ποῖαν ἐδέξαντο χειροτονίας ἀναρχίαν μαθεῖν, ἀεὶ τὴν αὐτὴν διακόναν; ἢ μὴν τὴν ἐς ταῖς ἑλλησιν ἐκ τῶν ἀλλὰ αὐτῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἔστι ἡ δικονομία. What dignity had these seven here ordained? of Deacons? No; for this dispensation is made by Priests not Deacons; and Theophylact more clearly repeating the words

words of *S. Chrysostome*, *pro more suo*, adds this, *ἡ πρεσβυτέρων εἶμας τὸ ὄνομα ἔχουσα, τὸ ἀξίωμα ἀντὶ; ἀλλὰ τίς ἐστὶν αὐτῶν διακονήν τῆς ἐκκλησίας τὰ πρὸς τὴν χρείαν ἐκτελεῖν.* The name and dignity of these seven was no lesse, but even the dignity of Presbyters, only for the time they were appointed to dispense the goods of the Church for the good of the faithfull people. Presbyters they were say *S. Chrysostome* and *Theophylact*; of the number of the 72. saith *Ephiphanius*. But however, it is cleare that the 72. were present, for the whole multitude of the Disciples was as yet there resident, they were not yet sent abroad, they were not scattered with persecution till the Martyrdome of *S. Stephen*, [but the twelve called the whole multitude of the Disciples] to them about this affaire. *vers. 2.* But yet themselves only did ordaine them.

2. An instance paralell to this, is in the imposition of hands upon *S. Paul* and *Barnabas*, in the *Acts. 13.* first ordination that was held at *Antioch*. [Now there were in the Church that was at *Antioch* certain Prophets and Teachers, as *Barnabas* and *Simeon*, and *Lucius*, and *Manāen*, and *Saul*. *ἀνίστηντων δ' αὐτῶν*, while these men were Ministring, the holy Ghost said to them, separate me *Barnabas* and *Saul*.] They did so, they [fasted, they prayed, they laid their hands on them, and sent them away. So they being sent forth by the holy Ghost, departed into *Seleucia*.] This is the story, now let us make our best on't. Here then was the ordination and imposition of hands complete, and that was said to

be done by the holy Ghost which was done by the Prophets of *Antioch*. For *they* sent them away, and yet the next words are, so they being sent forth by the *holy Ghost*. So that here was the thing done, and that by the Prophets alone, and that by the command of the Holy Ghost, and said to be his act.

Well! but what were these Prophets? They were

Prophetas duplici genere
intelligamus,
& futura dicentes
& Scripturas
revelantes.

S. Ambros :
in 1. Corinth.
12.

Prophets in the Church of *Antioch*, not such as *Agabus*, and the daughters of *Philip* the Evangelist, Prophets of prediction extraordinary, but Prophets of ordinary office and ministration, *προφῆται, διδασκαλοι, & λειτουργοι*, Prophets and Teachers and Ministers. More then ordinary Ministers, for they were Doctors or Teachers, and that's not all, for they were Prophets too. This even at first sight is more then the ordinary office of the Presbytery. We shall see this cleare enough in S. *Paul* * where the ordinary office of Prophets is reckoned before Pastors, before Evangelists, next to Apostles, that is next to such Apostles *ὡς αὐτοῖς ἰδοὺς*, as S. *Paul* there expresses it, next to those Apostles to whom Christ hath given immediate mission. And these are therefore Apostles too, Apostles *secundi ordinis*, none of the twelve, but such as S. *James*, and *Epaphroditus*, and *Barnabas* and S. *Paul* himselfe. To be sure they were such Prophets as S. *Paul* and *Barnabas*, for they are reckoned in the number by S. *Luke*, for here it was that S. *Paul* although he had immediate vocation by Christ, yet he had particular ordination to this Apostolate or Ministry of the Gentiles. It is evident then what Prophets these were, they were

* Ephes. 4.

they were at the least more then ordinary Presbyters, and therefore they impos'd hands, and they only. And yet to make the businesse up compleat, S. Marke was amongst them, but he impos'd no hands, he was there as the Deacon and Minister [*vers. 5.*] but he medled not. S. Luke fixes the whole action upon the Prophets, such as S. Paul himselfe was, and so did the Holy Ghost too, but neither did S. Marke who was an Evangelist, and one of the 72 Disciples (as he is reckoned in the Primitive Catalogues by *Eusebius* and *Dorotheus*) nor any of the Colledge of the *Antiochian* Presbyters, that were lesse then Prophets, that is, who were not more then meere Presbyters.

The summe is this: Imposition of hands is a duty & office necessary for the perpetuating of a Church, *ne Gens sit Vnius ætatis*, least it expire in one age: this power of imposition of hands for Ordination was fix't upon the *Apostles* and Apostolike men, and not communicated to the 72 *Disciples* or *Presbyters*, for the Apostles, and Apostolike men, did so *de facto*, and were commanded to doe so, and the 72 never did so, therefore this office and Ministry of the *Apostolate* is distinct, and superiour to that of *Presbyters*, and this distinction must be so continued to all ages of the Church, for the thing was not temporary but productive of issue and succession, and therefore as perpetuall as the Clergy, as the Church it selfe.

§ 8.
And Con-
firmation,

2. **T**He Apostles did impose hands for confirmation of Baptized people, and this was a perpetuall act of a power to be succeeded to, and yet not communicated, nor executed by the 72, or any other *meere Presbyter*. That the Apostles did confirme Baptized people, and others of the inferiour Clergie could not, is beyond all exception cleare in the case of the *Samaritan Christians*. *Acts*. 8. For when *S. Philip* had converted, and Baptized the Men of *Samaria*, the Apostles sent *Peter* and *Iohn* to lay their hands on them that they might receive the Holy Ghost. *S. Philip* he was an Evangelist, he was one of the 72 Disciples, * a Presbyter, and appointed to the same ministration that *S. Stephen* was about the poore Widdowes, yet he could not doe this, the Apostles must and did. This giving of the Holy Ghost by imposition of the Apostles hands, was not for a miraculous gift, but an ordinary Grace. For *S. Philip* could, and did doe miracles enough, but this Grace he could not give, the Grace of consigning or confirmation. The like case is in *Acts*. 19. where some people having been Baptized at *Ephesus*, *S. Paul* confirmed them, giving them the Holy Ghost by imposition of hands. The Apostles did it, not the twelve only, but Aposto-like men, the other Apostles. *S. Paul* did it. *S. Philip* could not, nor any of the 72, or any other *meere Presbyters* ever did it, that we find in Holy Scripture.

* *S. Cyprian*:
ad Iubaian.

Yea; but this imposition of hands, was for a Miraculous

raculous issue, for the *Ephesine* Christians received the Holy Ghost, and spake with tongues and prophesied, which effect because it is ceased, certainly the thing was temporary and long ago expired. 1. Not for this reason to be sure. For extraordinary effects may be temporary, when the function which they attest may be eternall, and therefore are no signes of an extraordinary Ministry. The Apostles preaching was attended by Miracles, and extraordinary conversions of people [*ut in exordio,*
" Apostolos divinatorum signorum comitabantur effectus & Spiritus Sancti gratia, ita ut videres unam
" alloquutione integros simul populos ad cultum divina religionis adduci, & pradicantium verbis non esse
" tardiores audientium fidem,] as * *Eusebius* tells lib: 3 hist: cap: 37.
of the successe of the preaching of some Evangelists; yet I hope preaching must not now cease because no Miracles are done, or that to convert one man now would be the greatest Miracle. The Apostles when they curs'd and anathematiz'd a delinquent, he dyed suddainly, as in the case of *Ananias* and *Sapphira*, whom *S. Peter* slew with the word of his Ministry, and yet now although these extraordinary issues cease, it is not safe venturing upon the curses of the Church. When the Apostles did excommunicate a sinner, he was presently delivered over to *Sathan* to be buffeted, that is, to be afflicted with corporall punishments, and now although no such exterminating Angels beat the bodies of persons excommunicate, yet the power of excommunication I hope still remains in the Church, and the power

power of the Keyes is not also gone: So also in the power of *confirmation*, * which however attended by a visible miraculous descent of the Holy Ghost in gifts of languages and healing, yet like other miracles in respect of the whole integrity of Christian faith, these miracles at first did confirme the function, and the faith for ever.

* vide August.
tract. 6. in 1.
Epist. Iohann.

Now then that this right of imposing hands for confirming of baptiz'd people, was not to expire with the persons of the Apostles, appears from these considerations.

1. Because Christ made a promise of sending *Vicarium suum Spiritum*, the Holy Ghost in his stead; and this by way of appropriation is called *the promise of the Father*; This was pertinent to all Christendome. *Effundam de spiritu meo super omnem carnem*, so it was in the Prophecy. For the promise is to you and to your Children $\epsilon\gamma\pi\alpha\nu\tau\iota\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \mu\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \alpha\gamma\alpha\pi\eta\varsigma\ \kappa\lambda\epsilon\iota\omicron\varsigma$, and to all them that are a farre off, even to as many as the Lord shall call. So it was in the first accomplishing. *To all*. And this *for ever*, for [I will send the Holy Ghost unto you, and he shall abide with you *for ever*] for it was in *subsidium*, to supply the comforts of his desired presence, and must therefore *ex vi intentionis* be remanent till Christ's coming againe. Now then this promise being to be communicated *to all*, and that *for ever*, must either come to us by ¹ extraordinary and miraculous mission, or by ² an ordinary Ministry. Not the first; for we might as well expect the gift of Miracles. If the second (as it is most certaine

A. 2. 39.

certaine so) then the mayne Question is evicted, vizi, that something perpetually necessary was in the power of the Apostles, which was not in the power of the inferiour Ministers, nor of any, but themselves and their Colleagues, to wit, *Ministerium S. Spiritus*, or the ordinary office of giving the holy Ghost by imposition of hands. For this promise was performed to the Apostles in *Pentecost*, to the rest of the faithfull after Baptisme, *Quod n. nunc in confirmandis Neophytis manus impositio tribuit singulis, hoc tunc spiritus sancti descensio, in credentium populo donavit Vniversis*, saith *Eusebius Emiffenus*. Serm. de Pentecoste. Now we find no other way of performing it, nor any ordinary conveyance of the Spirit to all people, but this, and we find that the H. Ghost actually was given this way. Therefore the effect, to wit, the H. Ghost being to continue forever, and the promise of Universall concernement, this way also of it's communication, to wit, by Apostolicall imposition of hands, is also *perpetuum ministerium*, to be succeeded to and to abide for ever.

2 This Ministry of imposition of hands for confirmation of baptized people is so farre from being a temporary Grace, and to determine with the persons of the Apostles, that it is a fundamentall point of Christianity, an essentiall ingredient to it's cōposition. *S. Paul* is my Author. [Therefore lea- Hebr. 6. 2. ving the principles of the doctrine of Christ, let us goe on unto perfection, not laying againe the foundation of Repentance from dead works, faith towards God, the doctrine of baptisme, and of laying on of hands. &c.

&c. Here is imposition of hands reckoned as part of the foundation and a principle of Christianity in *S. Pauls* Catechisme. Now, imposition of hands is used by Name in Scripture but for two Ministrations. ¹ For ordination, & ² for this whatsoever it is. Imposition of hands for ordination does indeed give the Holy Ghost, but not as he is that promise which is called *the promise of the Father*. For the Holy Ghost for ordination was given before the ascension. *Iohn. 20.* But the promise of the H. Ghost the comforter [*the Paraclete*, I say, not the *Ordainer or fountaine of Priestly order*, that] was not given till the day of *Pentecost*; and besides, it was promis'd to all Christian people, and the other was given onely to the Clergy.

* Adde to this, that *S. Paul* having laid this in the foundation makes his progresse from this to perfection (as he calls it) that is to higher mysteries, and then his discourse is immediately of the Priesthood Evangelicall, which is Originally in Christ, ministerially in the Clergy; so that unlesse we will either confound the termes of his progresse, or imagine him to make the Ministry of the Clergy, the foundation of Christs Priesthood, and not rather contrary, it is cleare that by imposition of hands, *S. Paul* meanes not ordination, and therefore confirmation, there being no other ordinary Ministry of imposition of hands but these two specified in Holy Scripture. For, as for benediction in which Christ used the ceremony, and as for healing in which *Ananias* and the Apostles used it, the first is clearly
no

no Principle or fundamentall point of Christianity; and the Second is confessedly extraordinary, therefore the argument is still firme upon it's first principles.

3. Lastly, the Primitive Church did *de facto*, and beleiv'd themselves to be tyed *de jure* to use this rite of Confirmation and giving of the Holy Ghost after Baptisme.

S. *Clemens Alexandrinus* in *Eusebius* tells a story ^{lib: 3. hist: cap. 17.} of a young man whom S. *Iohn* had converted and committed to a Bishop to be brought up in the faith of Christendome, *Qui* (saith S. *Clement*) *eum baptismi Sacramento illuminavit, postea verò sigillo Domini tanquam perfectà & tutâ ejus animi custodiâ obsignavit.* The Bishop first baptiz'd him, then consign'd him. *Iustin Martyr* saies (speaking *pro more Ecclesie*, according to the Custome of the Church) that when the mysteries of baptism were done, then the faithfull are consign'd, or confirm'd.

S. *Cyprian* relates to this story of S. *Philip* and the Apostles, and gives this account of the whole ^{Epist: 73. ad Iubajan:} "affayre, *Et idcirco quia legitimum & Ecclesiasticum baptismum consequuti fuerant, baptizari eos ultra non oportebat; Sed tantummodo id quod deerat, id à Petro & Iohanne factum erat, ut oratione pro eis habitâ & manu impositâ invocaretur, & infunderetur super eos Spiritus S. Quod nunc quoq; apud nos geritur, ut qui in Ecclesiâ baptizantur, Præpositis Ecclesiæ offerantur, ut per nostram orationem ac manûs impositionem Spiritum S. consequantur, & signaculo Dominico confirmentur.* S. *Peter* and S. *Iohn*

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by

by imposing their hands on the Converts of *Samarita*, praying over them, and giving them the Holy Ghost, made supply to them of what was wanting after Baptisme: and this is to this day done in the Church, for new baptized people are brought to the Bishops, and by imposition of their hands obtaine the Holy Ghost.

But for this who pleases to be farther satisfied in the Primitive faith of Christendome, may see it in the decretall Epistles of *Cornelius* the Martyr to *Fabianus* recorded by *Eusebius*; in the * Epistle written to *Inlinus* and *Julianus* Bishops, under the name of *S. Clement*, in the * Epistle of *Urban P.* and Martyr, ^a in *Tertullian*, in ^b *S. Austen*, and in *S. Cyrill* of *Ierusalem* whose whole third *Mistagogique* Catechisme is concerning Confirmation. This only. The Catholicks, whose Christian prudence it was, in all true respects to disadvantage Hereticks, least their poyson should infect like a Pest, layd it in *Novatus* dish as a crime, *He was baptized in his bed, and was not confirmed*, *Vnde nec Spiritum sanctum unquam potuerit promereri*, therefore he could never receive the gift of the holy Ghost. So *Cornelius* in the forequoted Epistle. Whence it is evident, that then it was the belief of Christendome, that the holy Ghost was by no ordinary ministry given to faithfull people after Baptisme, but only by *Apostolicall*, or *Episcopall* consignation and imposition of hands.

What also the faith of Christendome was concerning the *Minister* of confirmation, and that *Bishops*

* Lib. 6. hist.
cap. 33.
* in 1. tom.
Concil:
a lib. de bapt.
ismo. c. 8.
b lib. 2. contra
Ira. tit. Petil:
cap. 104. &
lib. 15. de Tri-
nitie 26. vide
etiam S. Hie-
roni contra
Luciferianos.
S. Ambrosi
lib. 2. c. 2. de
sacramentis
Epist. 3. Euse-
bi P. & M.
ad Epist. Tuf-
ciae & Cam-
poni. Isidor:
Hispal de ec-
clesiast. offic. lib.
2. c. 26.

shops only could doe it, I shall make evident in the descent of this discourse. Here the scene lies in Scripture, where it is cleare that S. *Philip*, one of the 72. *Disciples*, as antiquity reports him, and an Evangelist and a *Disciple*, as Scripture also expresse him, could not impose hands for application of the promise of the Father, and ministeriall giving of the holy Ghost, but the Apostles must goe to doe it; and also there is no example in Scripture of any that ever did it but an Apostle, and yet this is an ordinary Ministry which *de jure* ought, & *de facto* alwaies was continued in the Church. Therefore there must alwaies be an ordinary office of Apostleship in the Church to doe it, that is, an office above Presbyters, for in Scripture they could never doe it, and this is it which we call *Episcopacy*.

3. **T**HE Apostles were rulers of the whole Church, & each Apostle respectively of his severall Diocesse, when he would fixe his chaire; & had superintendency over the Presbyters, and the people, and this by Christs donation, the Charter is by the Fathers said to be this. *Sicut misit me Pater, sic ego mitto vos*. As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you. *Manifesta enim est sententia Domini nostri Iesu Christi Apostolos suos mittentis, & ipsis solis potestatem à Patre sibi datam permittentis quibus nos successimus eadem potestate Ecclesiam Domini gubernantes*, said *Clarus à Musculà*, the Bishop in the Councell of *Carthage* related by S. *Cyprian* and S. *Austin*. But however it is evident in

§ 9. And Superiority of Jurisdiction on, *Iohn. 20. 21.* Lib. 7. de baptis. m. Contra Donatist. c. 43. vide etiam S. Cyprian. de Unit. Eccles. & S. Cyrill. in Iob. lib. 12. c. 55.

Scripture, that the Apostles had such superintendency over the inferior Clergy (Presbyters I mean and Deacons) and a superiority of jurisdiction, and therefore it is certain that Christ gave it them, for none of the Apostles took this honour, but he that was called of God as was *Aaron*.

1. Our blessed Saviour gave to the Apostles *plenitudinem potestatis*. It was *sicut misit me Pater, &c.* As my Father sent, so I send. You, my Apostles whom I have chosen. This was not said to Presbyters, for they had no commission at all given to them by Christ, but at their first mission to preach repentance, I say no commission at all, they were not spoken to, they were not present. Now then consider. Suppose that as *Aërius* did deny the Divine institution of Bishops over the Presbyters *cum grege*, another as confident as he should deny the Divine institution of Presbyters, what proof were there in all the holy Scripture to shew the Divine institution of them as a distinct order from Apostles or Bishops. Indeed Christ selected 72. and gave them commission to preach, but that commission was temporary and expired before the crucifixion for ought appears in Scripture. If it be said the Apostles did ordaine Presbyters in every City, it is true, but not sufficient, for so they ordained Deacons at *Ierusalem*, and in all established Churches, and yet this will not tant'amount to an immediate Divine institution for Deacons, and how can it then for Presbyters? If we say a constant Catholick traditive interpretation of Scripture, does teach

teach us, that Christ did institute the *Presbyterate* together with *Episcopacy*, and made the Apostles Presbyters as well as Bishops; this is true. But then

1. We recede from the plain words of Scripture, and rely upon tradition, which in this question of Episcopacy will be of dangerous consequence to the enemies of it, for the same tradition, if that be admitted for good probation, is for Episcopall pre-eminence over Presbyters, as will appeare in the sequel. 2. Though no use be made of this advantage, yet to the allegation it will be quickly answered, that it can never bee proved from Scripture, that Christ made the Apostles Priests first, and then Bishops or Apostles, but only that Christ gave them severall commissions, and parts of the office Apostolicall, all which being in one person, cannot by force of Scripture prove two orders. Truth is, if we change the scene of warre, and say that the *Presbyterate*, as a distinct order from the ordinary office of Apostleship, is not of Divine institution, the proof of it would be harder then for the Divine institution of *Episcopacy*. Especially if we consider, that in all the enumerations of the parts of Clericall

Ephef. 4.

1. Corinth. 12.

offices, there is no enumeration of *Presbyters*, but of *Apostles* there is; and the other members of the induction are of gifts of Christianity, or parts of the Apostolate, and either must inferre many more orders, then the Church ever yet admitted of, or none, distinct from the Apostolate, insomuch as Apostles were Pastors, and Teachers, and Evangelists, and Rulers, and had the gift of tongues, of

Scripture, that the Apostles had such superintendency over the inferior Clergy (Presbyters I mean and Deacons) and a superiority of jurisdiction, and therefore it is certain that Christ gave it them, for none of the Apostles took this honour, but he that was called of God as was *Aaron*.

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healing, and of Miracles. This thing is of great consideration, and this use I will make of it : That either Christ made the 72 to be Presbyters, and in them instituted the distinct order of Presbyterate, as the ancient Church alwaies did believe, or else he gave no distinct commission for any such distinct order. If the second be admitted, then the Presbyterate is not of *immediate divine* institution, but of *Apostolicall* only, as is the Order of Deacons, and the whole plenitude of power is in the order Apostolicall alone, and the Apostles did constitute Presbyters with a greater portion of their own power, as they did Deacons with a lesse. But if the first be said, then the commission to the 72 Presbyters being only of preaching that we find in Scripture, all the rest of their power which now they have is by Apostolicall ordinance, and then although the Apostles did admit them *in partem sollicitudinis*, yet they did not admit them *in plenitudinem potestatis*, for then they must have made them Apostles, and then there will be no distinction of order neither by *Divine* nor *Apostolicall* institution neither.

I care not which part be chosen, one is certain; but if either of them be true, then since to the Apostles only, Christ gave a *plenitude* of power, it followes, that either the Presbyters have no power of jurisdiction, as affixed to a distinct order, and then the Apostles are to rule them by vertue of the order and ordinary commission Apostolicall; or if they have jurisdiction they doe derive it *à fonte Apostolo-*

rum, and then the Apostles have superiority of Iurisdiction over Presbyters, because Presbyters only have it by delegation Apostolicall. And that I say truth (besides that there is no possibility of shewing the contrary in Scripture, by the producing any other commission given to Presbyters, then what I have specified,) I will hereafter shew it to have been the faith and practise of Christendome not only that Presbyters were *actually subordinate* to Bishops (which I contend to be the ordinary office of Apostleship) but that Presbyters have no Iurisdiction *essentiall* to their order, but *derivative* only from Apostolicall preheminance.

2. Let us now see the *matter of fact*. They that can inflict censures upon Presbyters have certainly superiority of Iurisdiction over Presbyters, for *A. qualis aequali coercere non potest*, saith the Law. Now it is evident in the case of *Diotrephes* a Presbyter, and a Bishop *would be*, that for his peremptory rejection of some faithfull people from the Catholick communion without cause, and without authority, *S. Iohn* the Apostle threatned him in his Epistle to *Gajus*, *ὅτι ὅταν ἴδῃς ἔλθον καταπαύσω αὐτὸν &c.*

Wherefore when I come I will remember him, and all that would have been to very little purpose, if he had not had *coercitive* jurisdiction to have punished his delinquency.

3. Presbyters many of them did succeed the Apostles by a new ordination, as *Matthias* succeeded *Iudas*, who before his new ordination was one of the 72. as ^a *Eusebius*, ^b *Epiphanius*, and ^c *S. Ierome*

affirme

^a Lib. 1. *hist.*
^c 12. & 1. 2.
^c 9.
^b *Heret.* 20.
^c *De script.*
Eccles. in
Matth.
vide Irenaeum
l. 4. c. 63. Tert.
cul de prax.
script.

affirme, and in Scripture is expressed to be of the number of them that went in and out with Iesus; *S. Clement* succeeded *S. Peter* at *Rome*, *S. Simeon Cleopha* succeeded *S. James* at *Ierusalem*, *S. Philip* succeeded *S. Paul* at *Casarea*, & diverse others of the 72, reckoned by *Dorotheus*, *Eusebius*, & others of the Fathers, did governe the severall Churches after the Apostles death which before they did not. Now it is cleare that he that receives no more power after the Apostles, then he had under them, can no way be said to succeed them in their Charge, or Churches. It followes then, since (as will more fully appeare anon) Presbyters did succeed the Apostles, that under the Apostles they had not such jurisdiction as afterwards they had. But the Apostles had the same to which the Presbyters succeeded to, therefore greater then the Presbyters had before they did succeed. When I say Presbyters succeeded the Apostles, I meane, not as *Presbyters*, but by a new ordination to the dignity of *Bishops*, so they succeeded, and so they prove an evidence of fact, for a superiority of Jurisdiction in the Apostolicall Clergy. *** Now that this superiority of Jurisdiction was not temporary, but to be succeeded in, appears from Reason, and from ocular demonstration, or of the thing done.

1. If superiority of Jurisdiction was necessary in the ages Apostolicall for the regiment of the Church, there is no imaginable reason why it should not be necessary in succession, since upon the emergency of Schismes and Heresies which were foretold

foretold should multiply in descending ages, government and superiority of jurisdiction, unity of supremacy, and coercion was more necessary then at first, when extraordinary gifts might supply, what now we expect to be performed by an ordinary authority.

2. Whatsoever was the regiment of the Church in the Apostles times that must be perpetuall (not so as to have * *all* that which was personall, and temporary, but so as to have *no other*) for that, and that only is of Divine institution which Christ committed to the Apostles, and if the Church be not now governed as then, We can shew no Divine Authority for our government, which we must contend to doe, and doe it too, or be call'd usurpers. For either the Apostles did governe the Church as Christ commanded them, or not. If not, then they sayl'd in the founding of the Church, and the Church is not built upon a Rock. If they did (as most certainly they did) then either the same disparity of jurisdiction must be retayn'd, or else we must be governed with an Unlawfull and unwarranted equality, because not by that which only is of immediate divine institution; and then it must needs be a fine government, where there is no authority, and where no man is superiour.

* *Ut puta,
viduarum
collegium, &
Diaconorum,
& canobium
fidelium. &c.*

3. We see a disparity in the Regiment of Churches warranted by Christ himselfe, and confirmed by the Holy Ghost in sayrest intimation. I meane the seaven Angel-Presidents of the seaven *Asian* Churches. If these seaven *Angels* were seaven

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Bishops, that is, Prelates or Governours of these seaven Churches, in which it is evident and confessed of all sides, there were many Presbyters, then it is certaine that a Superiority of Iurisdiction was intended by Christ himselfe, and given by him, in somuch as he is the fountaine of all power derived to the Church; For Christ writes to these seaven Churches, and directs his Epistles to the seaven Governours of these Churches calling them Angels, which it will hardly be suppos'd he would have done, if the function had not been a ray of the Sunne of righteousnesse, they had not else been Angels of light, nor starres held in Christ's owne right hand.

Revel. 1, vers.
20.

This is certaine, that the function of these Angels (whatsoever it be) is a Divine institution. Let us then see what is meant by these starres and Angels. [*The seaven starres are the Angells of the seaven Churches, and the seaven Candlesticks are the seaven Churches.*]

1. Then it is evident, that although the Epistles were sent with a finall intention for the edification and confirmation of the whole Churches or people of the Diocesse, with an [*Attendite quid Spiritus dicit Ecclesijs*] yet the personall direction was not to the whole Church, for the whole Church is called the *Candlestick*, and the superscription of the Epistles is not to the seaven *Candlesticks*, but to the seaven *starres* which are the Angels of the seaven Churches, viz. the lights shining in the *Candlesticks*. By the Angell therefore is not, cannot be mean't the *whole Church*.

2. It is plaine that by the *Angel* is mean't the Governour of the Church, 1. Because of the title of eminency, *The Angel* ὁ ἰσχυρὸς, that is, the Messenger, the Legate, the Apostle of the Church. Ἀγγελοῖς αὐτοῖς. For these words, *Angel*, or *Apostle*, although they signifie Mission or Legation, yet in Scripture they often relate to the persons to whom they are sent. As in the examples before specified. Ἀγγελοῖς αὐτοῖς. Their Angels. Ἀπόστολοι Ἑκκλησιῶν. The Apostles of the Churches. Ἀγγελος τῆς Ἐκκλησίας. The Angel of the Church of *Ephesus*, and diverse others. Their compellation therefore being a word of office in respect of him that sends them, and of *Eminence* in relation to them to whom they are sent, shewes that the Angel was the Ruler of each Church respectively. 2. Because acts of jurisdiction are credited to him; as, not to suffer *false Apostles*; So to the Angel of the Church of *Ephesus*, which is clearly a power of cognisance and coërcion *in causis Clericorum*: to be watchfull and strengthen the things that remaine; as to the Angel of the Church in *Sardis*, ζῆτε γρηγορεῖτε καὶ στήξτε τὰ λοιπὰ, The first is the office of Rulers, for they *Watch* for your Soules; And the *Hebr. 13.* *second*, of Apostles, and Apostolike men. Ἰούδας καὶ Σίλας τὰς ἀδελφὰς ἐπιστήξουσιν, *Judas* and *Silas* confirm'd the Brethren, for these men, although they were but of the 72 at first, yet by this time were made Apostles and cheife men among the Brethren] S. *Paul* also was joyned in this worke, ἀνέβη καὶ ἐπιστήξουσιν *Ac. 15.* τὰς Ἑκκλησίας, He went up and downe confirming the Churches. And τὰ λοιπὰ διατίθεμαι. S. *Paul.* To con- 1. Cor. 11.

firm the Churches, and to make supply of what is deficient in discipline and government, these were offices of power and jurisdiction, no lesse then Episcopall or Apostolicall; and besides, the Angel here spoken of had a propriety in the people of the Diocesse [*Thou hast a few names even in Sardis*] they were the Bishops people, the Angel had a right to them. And good reason that the people should be his, for their faults are attributed to him, as to the Angel of *Pergamus*, and diverse others, and therefore they are deposited in his custody, He is to be their Ruler and Pastor, and this is called *his Ministry*. To the Angel of the Church of *Thyatira* *ὁ δὲ τῆς ἐκκλ. τῆς θύατιρας, ὃς τὸν διακονίαν, I have knowne thy Ministry*. His office therefore was *Clericall*, it was an Angel-Minister, and this his office must make him the guide and superiour to the Rest, even all the whole Church, since he was charg'd with all.

3. By the Angel is mean't a singular person, for the reprehensions and the commendations respectively imply personall delinquency, or suppose personall excellencies. Adde to this that the compellation is singular, and of determinate number, so that we may as well multiply Churches as persons, for the seaven Churches had but seaven starres, and these seaven starres were the Angels of the seaven Churches. And if by seaven starres they may meane 70 times seaven starres (for so they may if they begin to multiply) then by one starre they must meane many starres, and so they may multiply Churches too, for there were as many Churches

as starres, and no more Angels then Churches, and it is as reasonable to multiply these seaven Churches into 7000, as every *starre* into a *Constellation*, or every *Angel* into a *Legion*.

But besides the Exigency of the thing it selfe, these seaven Angels are by Antiquity called the seaven Governours or Bishops of the seaven Churches, & their very names are commemorated. Vnto these seaven Churches S. *Iohn*, saith *Arethas*, reckoneth in 1. Apocal.
ἑπτὰ ἄγγελοι ἑξ ἑκάστης Ἀγγέλου, an equall number of Angel-Governours, and *Occumenius* in his *scholia* upon this place, saith the very same words. *Septem igitur Angelos Rectores septem Ecclesiarum debemus intelligere*, ibid.
ed quod Angelus Nuntius interpretatur, saith S. *Ambrose*, and againe, *Angelos Episcopos dicit sicut docetur in Apocalypsi Iohannis*. Let the wo- in 1. Cor. 11.
 man have a covering on her head *because of the Angels*, that is, in reverence and subjection to the Bishop of the Church, for Bishops are the Angels as is taught in the *Revelation* of S. *Iohn*. *Divinâ voce sub Angeli Nomine laudatur præpositus Ecclesia* so S. *Austin*. By the voyce of God the Bishop of the Church is commended under the title of an Angel. *Eusebius* names some of these Angels who were then Presidents and actually Bishops of these Churches. S. *Polycarpe* was one to be sure, *apud Smyrnam* & *Episcopus* & *Martyr*, saith *Eusebius*, lib. 5. c. 24.
 He was the Angel of the Church of *Smyrna*; And he had good authority for it, for he reports it out of *Polycrates* who a little after, was himselfe an Angell of the Church of *Ephesus*, and he also lib. 4. c. 10.

lib. 4. cap. 15. quotes S. *Irenæus* for it, & out of the Encyclicall Epistle of the Church of *Smyrna* it selfe, and besides these authorities it is attested by S. † *Ignatius*, and † *Epist. ad Polycarp.* * *Tertullian*. S. *Timothy* was another Angell, to wit, of the Church of *Ephesus*; to be sure had beene, and most likely was still surviving. *Antipas* is reckoned by Name in the Revelation, and he had been the Angel of *Pergamus*, but before this booke written he was turned from an *Angel* to a *Saint*. *Melito* in all probability was then the Angel of the Church of *Sardis*. *Melito quoq; Sardensis Ecclesie Antistes, & Apollinaris apud Hierapolim Ecclesiam regens celeberrimi inter ceteros habebantur*, saith *Eusebius*.
 vide *Arætha.*
 in 1. *Apoc.*
 lib. 4. cap. 26. These men were actually living when S. *Iohn* writ his Revelation, for *Melito* writ his book *de Paschate* when *Sergius Paulus* was Proconsul of *Asia*, and writ after the Revelation, for he writ a treatise of it, as saith *Eusebius*. However, at least some of these were then, and all of these about that time were Bishops of these Churches, and the Angels S. *Iohn* speakes of were such who had Iurisdiction over their whole Diocesse, therefore these, or such as these were the Angels to whom the Spirit of God writ hortatory and commendatory letters, such whom Christ held in his Right hand and fix'd them in the Churches like lights set on a Candlestick that they might give shine to the whole house.

The Summe of all is this; that Christ did institute Apostles and Presbyters or 72 Disciples. To the Apostles he gave a plenitude of power, for the whole commission was given to them in as great and

and comprehensive clauses as were imaginable, for by vertue of it, they received a power of giving the Holy Ghost in confirmation, and of giving his grace in the collation of holy Orders, a power of jurisdiction and authority to governe the Church: and this power was not *temporary*, but *successive* and *perpetuall*, and was intended as an *ordinary* office in the Church, so that the *successors* of the Apostles had the same right and institution that the Apostles *themselves* had, and though the *personall* mission was not immediate, as of the Apostles it was, yet the commission and institution of the *function* was all one. But to the 72 Christ gave no commission but of *preaching*, which was a very limited commission. There was all the immediate Divine institution of Presbyterate as a distinct order, that can be fairly pretended. But yet farther, these 72 the Apostles did admit *in partem sollicitudinis*, and by new ordination or delegation Apostolicall, did give them power of administering Sacraments, of absolving sinners, of governing the Church in conjunction and subordination to the Apostles, of which they had a capacity by Christs calling them at first *in sortem Ministerii*, but the exercise, and the actuating of this capacity they had from the Apostles. So that not by *Divine* ordination, or *immediate* commission from Christ, but by *derivation* from the *Apostles* (and therefore in minority and subordination to them) the Presbyters did exercise acts of order and jurisdiction in the absence of the Apostles or Bishops, or in conjunction consiliary,
and

and by way of advice, or before the consecration of a Bishop to a particular Church. And all this I doubt not, but was done by the direction of the Holy Ghost, as were all other acts of Apostolicall ministration, and particularly the institution of the other order, *viz.* of Deacons. This is all that can be proved out of Scripture concerning the commission given in the institution of Presbyters, and this I shall afterwards confirme by the practise of the Catholick Church, and so vindicate the practises of the *present* Church, from the common prejudices that disturbe us, for by this account, *Episcopacy* is not only a *Divine institution*, but the *only* order that derives *immediately* from Christ.

For the present only, I summe up this with that saying of *Theodoret* speaking of the 72 Disciples. *Palmae sunt isti qui nutriuntur ac erudiuntur ab Apostolis. Nam quanquam Christus hos etiam elegit, erant tamen duodecem illis inferiores, & postea illorum Discipuli & sectatores.* The Apostles are the twelve fountaines, and the 72 are the palmes that are nourished by the waters of those fountaines. For though Christ also ordain'd the 72, yet they were inferior to the Apostles, and afterwards were their followers and Disciples.

Epist. ad Philadelph.

I know no objection to hinder a conclusion, only two or three words out of *Ignatius*, are pretended against the maine question, *viz.* to prove that he, although a Bishop, yet had no Apostolicall authority, *ὅτι ὡς Ἀπόστολος διατάσσει*, *I doe not command this as an Apostle, (for what am I, and what is my Father's*

Fathers house, that I should compare my selfe with them) but as your fellow souldier and a Monitor. But this answers it selfe, if we consider to whom he speakes it. Not to his own Church of *Antioch*, for there he might command as an Apostle, but to the *Philadelphians* he might not, they were no part of his Diocesse, he was not *their* Apostle, and then because he did not equall the Apostles in their commission extraordinary, in their personall privileges, and in their universall jurisdiction, therefore he might not command the *Philadelphians*, being another Bishops charge, but admonish them with the freedome of a Christian Bishop, to whom the soules of all faithfull people were deare and precious. So that still Episcopacy and Apostolate may be all one in *ordinary office*, this hinders not, and I know nothing else pretended, and that Antiquity is clearly on this side, is the next businesse.

For, hitherto the discourse hath been of the *immediate Divine institution* of Episcopacy, by arguments derived from *Scripture*; I shall only add two more from *Antiquity*, and so passe on to *tradition Apostolicall*.

I. **T**He beliefe of the primitive Church is, that Bishops are the ordinary successors of the Apostles, and Presbyters of the 72, and therefore did believe that *Episcopacy* is as truly of *Divine institution* as the *Apostolate*, for the ordinary office both of one and the other is the same thing. For this there is abundant testimony. Some I shall select

§ 10.
So that Bishops are successors in the office of Apostleship, according to the general tenent of Antiquity.

left, enough to give faire evidence of a Catholick tradition.

Lib. 3. cap. 3.

S. Irenæus is very frequent and confident in this particular, *Habemus annumerare eos qui ab Apostolis instituti sunt Episcopi in Ecclesiis, Et Successores Eorum usq; ad nos ... Etenim si recondita mysteria scissent Apostoli ... his vel maximè traderent a quibus etiam ipsas Ecclesias committebant ... quos & Successores relinquebant Suum Ipsorum Locum Magisterii tradentes.* We can name the men the Apostles made Bishops in their severall Churches, appointing them their successors, and most certainly those mysterious secrets of Christianity which themselves knew; they would deliver to them to whom they committed the Churches, and left to be their successors in the same power and authority themselves had.

Lib. de præscript. c. 36.

Tertullian reckons Corinth, Philippi, Thessalonica, Ephesus and others to be Churches Apostolicall, *apud quas ipsa adhuc Cathedra Apostolorum suis locis præsidet.* Apostolicall they are from their foundation, and by their succession, for Apostles did found them, and Apostles, or men of Apostolick authority still doe governe them.

Epist. 42. ad Cornelium.

S. Cyprian; *Hoc enim vel maximè Frater, & laboramus & laborare debemus ut Unitatem à Domino, & per Apostolos Nobis Successoribus traditam quantum possumus obtinere curemus.* We must preserve the Vnity commanded us by Christ, and delivered by his Apostles to us their successors. To us Cyprian and Cornelius, for they only were then in view, the

the one Bishop of Rome, the other of Carthage. And in his Epistle ad Florentium Pupianum; *Nec hac jactō, sed dolens profero, cum te Iudicem Dei constituas & Christi, qui dicit ad Apostolos ac per hoc ad omnes prepositos qui Apostolus Vicariā ordinatione succedunt, qui vos audit, me audit, &c.* Christ said to his Apostles, and in them to the Governours or Bishops of his Church who succeeded the Apostles as Vicars in their absence, he that heareth you heareth mee. Epist. 69.

Famous is that saying of Clarus à Musculā the Bishop, spoken in the Councell of Carthage and repeated by S. Austin, *Manifesta est sententia Domini nostri Iesu Christi Apostolos suos mittentis & ipsis solis potestatem à patre sibi datam permittentis, quibus nos successimus eadem potestate Ecclesiam Domini gubernantes. Nos successimus.* We succeed the Apostles governing the Church by the same power. He spake it in full Councell in an assembly of Bishops, and himsele was a Bishop. Lib. 7. c. 43. de baptis. com. Donatist.

The Councell of Rome under S. Sylvester speaking of the honour due to Bishops expresses it thus, *Non oportere quenquam Domini Discipulis, id est, Apostolorum successoribus detrachere.* No man must detract from the Disciples of our Lord, that is, from the Apostles successors.

S. Hierome speaking against the Montanists for undervaluing their Bishops, shewes the difference of the Catholicks honouring, and the Hereticks dis-advantaging that sacred order. *Apud nos (saith he) Apostolorum locum Episcopi tenent, apud eos Episcopus tertius est.* Bishops with us [Catholicks] have Epist. 54.

the place or authority of Apostles, but with them [Montanists] Bishops are not the first but the third state of Men. And upon that of the Psalmist, *pro Patribus nati sunt tibi filii*, S. Hierome, and diverse others of the Fathers make this glosse, *Pro Patribus Apostolis filii Episcopi ut Episcopi Apostolis tanquam filii Patribus succedant*; The Apostles are Fathers, instead of whom Bishops doe succeed, whom God hath appointed to be made Rulers in all lands. So S. Hierome, S. Austin, and Euthymius upon the 44. Psal. aliàs 45.

De verbis
Dom. ferm. 24

But S. Austin for his own particular makes good use of his succeeding the Apostles, which would doe very well now also to be considered. *Si solis Apostolis dixit, qui vos spernit me spernit, spernite nos: si autem sermo ejus pervenit ad nos, & vocavit nos, & in eorum loco constituit nos, videte ne spernatis nos*. It was good counsell nor to despise Bishops, for they being in the Apostles places and offices are concerned and protected by that saying, *he that despiseth you, despiseth mee*. I said it was good counsell, especially if besides all these, we will take also S. Chrysostomes testimony, *Potestas anathematizandi ab Apostolis ad successores eorum nimirum Episcopos transit*. A power of anathematizing delinquents is derived from the Apostles to their successors, even to Bishops.

In Ephes. 4.

In 1. Corinth.
12. 28.

S. Ambrose upon that of S. Paul Ephes. 4. *Quosdam dedit Apostolos, Apostoli Episcopi sunt*, He hath given Apostles, that is, he hath given some Bishops. That's down right, and this came not by chance from

from him; he doubles his assertion. *Caput itaq; in Ecclesiâ Apostolos posuit, qui legati Christi sunt, sicut dicit idem Apostolus [pro quo legatione fungimur.] Ipsi sunt Episcopi, firmante istud Petro Apostolo, & dicente inter cetera de Iudâ, & Episcopatum ejus accipiat alter.* And a third time. *Numquid omnes A-* ^{in vers. 29.} ^{ibid.} *postolus verum est; Quia in Ecclesiâ Vnus est Episcopus.* Bishop and Apostle was all one with S. Ambrose, when he spake of their ordinary offices; which puts me in mind of the fragment of *Polycrates* of the Martyrdome of *Timothy* in *Photius*, in ^{2. 254.} *Ἀποστόλος Τιμόθεος ὡς ὁ μέγας Παῦλος ἐ χειροτονῆται Ἐφεσίων μητροπόλεως ἐπίσκοπος, ἐ ἐθεοποίηται.* The Apostle *Timothy* was ordained Bishop in the Metropolis of *Ephesus* by S. *Paul*, and there enthron'd. To this purpose are those compellations and titles of Bishopricks usually in antiquity. S. *Basil* calls a Bishoprick, *ἐπισκοπία ἢ Ἀποστολῶν*, and *ἐπισκοπία Ἀποστολικῶν*. So *Theodoret*. An Apostolicall presidency. ^{Lib. 4. c. 18.} The summe is the same which S. *Peter* himselfe taught the Church, as S. *Clement* his Scholler, or some other primitive man in his name reports of him. *Episcopos ergo vicem Apostolorum gerere Dominum docuisse dicebat, & reliquorum Discipulorum vicem tenere Presbyteros debere insinuabat.* He [*Peter*] said that our Lord taught that Bishops were to succeed in the place of the Apostles, and Presbyters in the place of the Disciples. Who desires to be farther satisfied concerning Catholick consent, for Bishops succession to Apostles in their order and ordinary office, he may see it in ^a *Pacianus* the renew. ^a *Epist. 1. ad Simpron.*

b Homil. 26.
in Evang.
c Orat. 2, de
imagin.
d Epist. 7.
e Habetur
Can. in Novo
distinct. 21.
f in synod. Hi-
spal.
g Lib. 3. c. 15.
super Lucan.

ned Bishop of *Barcinona*, in ^b *S. Gregory*, ^c *S. Iohn Damascen*, in *S. Sixtus* the first his second decretall Epistle, and most plentifully in ^d *S. Celestine* writing to the *Ephesine Councell*, in the Epistle of ^e *A. nacletus de Patriarchis & Primatibus &c.* In ^f *Isidore*, and in ^g *Venerable Bede*. His words are these, *sicut duodecem Apostolos formam Episcoporum exhibere simul & demonstrare nemo est qui dubitet: sic & 72 figuram Presbyterorum gessisse sciendum est, tametsi primis Ecclesie temporibus, ut Apostolica Scriptura testis est, utriq; Presbyteri, & utriq; vocabantur Episcopi, quorum unum scientia maturitatem, aliud industriam cura Pastoralis significat. Sunt ergo jure Divino Episcopi à Presbyteris pralatione distincti. As no man doubts but Apostles were the order of Bishops, so the 72 of Presbyters, though at first they had names in common. Therefore Bishops by Divine right are distinct from Presbyters, and their Prelates or Superiours.*

§ 11.
And particularly of
S. Peter,

Epist. 27. ad
Lapfos.

TO the same issue drive all thole testimonies of Antiquity that call all Bishops *ex aquo* successors of S. Peter. So *S. Cyprian*. *Dominus noster cuius precepta metuere & observare debemus, Episcopi honorem & Ecclesia sua rationem disponens in Evangelio, loquitur & dicit Petro, ego tibi dico, Quia tu es Petrus, &c. Inde per temporum & successionum vi- ces, Episcoporum ordinatio & Ecclesia ratio decurrit, ut Ecclesia super Episcopos constituatur, &c.* When our B. Saviour was ordering his Church and instituting Episcopall dignity, he said to Peter, thou art Peter, and

and on this rock will I build my Church. Hence comes the order of Bishops, and the constitution or being of the Church, that the Church be founded upon Bishops. &c.

The same also S. Jerome intimate's, *Non est facile* Epist. 1.
stare loco Pauli, tenere gradum Petri. It is not a small thing, to stand in the place of Paul, to obtaine the degree of Peter, so he, while he dissuades Heliodorus from taking on him the great burden of the Episcopall office. *Pasce oves meas*, said Christ to Peter, and feed the flock of God which is amongst you said S. Peter to the Bishops of Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia. *Similia enim Successoribus suis Petrus scripsit precepta*, saith Theodoret, S. Lib. 12. thes. cap. 13. Orat. de laud. Basil:
 Peter gave the same precepts to his successors which Christ gaveto him; And S. Ephrem speaking of S. Basil the Bishop of Casarea Cappadocia, & sicut *rursus Petrus Ananiam & Saphiram fraudantes de precio agri enecavit: ita & Basilus, locum Petri obtinens ejusq; pariter auctoritatem libertatemq; participans, suam ipsius promissionem fraudantem Valentem redarguit ejusq; filium morte multavit.* As S. Peter did to Ananias and Saphira, So Basil did to Valens and his Sonne for the same delinquency, for he had the place, liberty, and authority of S. Peter.

Thus Gaudentius of Brixia calls S. Ambrose the tract. primâ die Successor of S. Peter, and Gildas surnamed *the wise*, sua ordinat.
 saith that all evill Bishops whatsoever doe with unhallowed and uncleane feete usurpe the seate of S. Peter. But this thing is of Catholike beleife, and of this use. If the order and office of the Apostolate Biblioth. SS. PP. tom. 5 in Eccles. ord. in crepat.
 be eternall & to be succeeded in, and this office Superior

perior to Presbyters, and not onely of *Divine institution*, but indeed the *onely* order which can clearely show an *immediate Divine* commission for it's power and authority (as I have proved of the function Apostolicall) then those which doe succeed the Apostles in the ordinary office of Apostolare, have the same institution and authority the Apostles had, as much as the successors of the Presbyters have with the first Presbyters, and perhaps more.

For in the Apostolicall ordinations, they did not proceed as the Church since hath done. Themselves had the whole Priesthood, the whole commission of the Ecclesiasticall power and all the offices. Now they in their ordaining assistant Ministers, did not in every ordination give a distinct order, as the Church hath done since the Apostles. For they ordayned some to distinct offices, some to particular places, some to one part, some to another part of Clericall employment, as *S. Paul* who was an Apostle yet was ordain'd by imposition of hands to goe to the Churches of the Uncircumcision, so was *Barnabas*: *S. Iohn*, and *Iames*, and *Cephas* to the Circumcision, and there was scarce any publike designe or Grand employment but the Apostolike men had a new ordination to it, a new imposition of hands as is evident in the *Acts* of the Apostles. So that the Apostolicall ordinations of the inferiour Clergy were onely a giving of particular commissions to particular men to officiate such parts of the Apostolicall calling as they would please

please to employ them in. Nay sometimes their ordinations were onely a delivering of Iurisdiction when the persons ordayned had the order before, as it is evident in the case of *Paul* and *Barnabas*. Of *Acts*, 13. the same consideration is the institution of *Deacons* to spirituall offices, and it is very pertinent to this Question. For there is no Divine institution for these rising higher then Apostolicall ordinance; and so much there is for Presbyters as they are now authoriz'd, for such power the Apostles gaveto Presbyters as they have now, and sometimes more, as to *Judas* and *Silas*, and diversle others, who therefore were more then meere Presbyters as the word is now us'd.

* The result is this. The office and order of a Presbyter is but part of the office and order of an Apostle, so is a Deacon, a lesser part, so is an Evangelist, so is a Prophet, so is a Doctor, so is a helper, or a Surrogate in Government, but these will not be called orders, every one of them will not I am sure, at least not made distinct orders by Christ, for it was in the Apostles power to give any one or all these powers to any one man, or to distinguish them into so many men, as there are offices, or to unite more or fewer of them. All these I say, clearly make not distinct orders, and why are not all of them of the same consideration? I would be answered from Grounds of Scripture. For there we fix as yet.

* Indeed the Apostles did ordaine such men, and scattered their power at first, for there was so much employment in any one of them, as to require

one man for one office; but a while after they united all the lesser parts of power into two sorts of men whom the Church hath since distinguished by the Names of Presbyters and Deacons, and called them two distinct orders. But yet if we speak properly & according to the Exigence of Divine institution, there is *Vnum Sacerdotium*, one Priesthood appointed by Christ, and that was, the commission given by Christ to his Apostles, and to their Successors precisely, and those other offices of Presbyter and Deacon are but members of the Great Priesthood, and although the power of it, is all of Divine institution, as the power to baptize, to preach, to consecrate, to absolve, to Minister, yet that so much of it should be given to one sort of men, so much lesse to another, that is onely of Apostolicall ordinance. For the Apostles might have given to some onely a power to absolve, to some onely to consecrate, to some onely to baptize. We see that to Deacons they did so. They had onely a power to baptize and preach, whether all Evangelists had so much or no, Scripture does not tell us.

* But if to some men they had onely given a power to use the Keyes, or made them officers spirituall to restore such as are overtaken in a fault, and not to consecrate the Eucharist, (for we see these powers are distinct, and not relative and of necessary conjunction, no more then baptizing and consecrating) whether or no had those men who have only a power of absolving or consecrating respectively, whether (I say) have they the order of a Presbyter?

Presbyter? If yea, then now every Preist hath two orders besides the order of Deacon, for by the power of Consecration he hath the power of a Presbyter, and what is he then by his other power? But if such a man ordain'd with but one of these powers have not the order of a Presbyter, then let any man shew me where it is ordain'd by Christ, or indeed by the Apostles, that an order of Clerks should be constituted with both these powers, and that these were called Presbyters. I only leave this to be considered.

* But all the Apostolicall power we find instituted by Christ, and we also find a necessity, that all that power should be succeeded in, and that all that power should be united in one order, for he that hath the highest, *viz.* a power of ordination, must needs have all the other, else he cannot give them to any else, but a power of ordination I have proved to be necessary and perpetuall.

So that, we have cleare evidence of the Divine institution of the perpetuall order of *Apostleship*, may for the *Presbyterate* I have not so much either reason or confidence for it, as now it is in the Church; but for the Apostolate, it is beyond exception. And to this Bishops doe succeed. For that it is so, I have proved from Scripture, and because [*no Scripture is of private interpretation*] I have attested it with the Catholike testimony of the Primitive Fathers, calling Episcopacy, the Apostolate, and Bishops successors of S. Peter in particular, and of all the Apostles in general in their ordi-

nary offices in which they were Superior to the 72, the Antecessors of the Presbyterate.

One objection, I must cleare. For sometimes Presbyters are also called Apostles, and Successors of the Apostles, as in *Ignatius*, in *Irenæus*, in *S. Hierome*. I answer,

1. They are not called *Successores Apostolorum* by any *dogmaticall* resolution or interpretation of Scripture, as the Bishops are in the examples above alleaged; but by *allusion*, and participation at the most. For true it is that they succeed the Apostles in the offices of baptizing, consecrating, and absolving in *privato foro*, but this is but part of the Apostolicall power, and no part of their office as Apostles were superiour to Presbyters.

2. It is observeable that Presbyters are never affirmed to succeed in the power and regiment of the Church, but in subordination, and derivation from the Bishop, and therefore they are never said to succeed in *Cathedris Apostolorum*, in the Apostolick Sees.

3. The places which I have specifyed, and they are all I could ever meete with, are of peculiar answer. For as for *Ignatius* in his Epistle to the Church of *Trallis*, * he calls the Presbytery or company of Priests, the Colledge, or combination of *Apostles*. But here *S. Ignatius* as he lifts up the Presbyters to a comparison with Apostles, so he also raises the Bishop to the similitude and resemblance with God. *Episcopus typum Dei Patris omnium gerit, Presbyteri verò sunt conjunctus Apostolorum*

* Idem fere
habet in Epist.
ad Magnes:
& Smyr-
neni.

lorum catus. So that although Presbyters grow high yet they doe not overtake the Bishops, or Apostles, who also in the same proportion grow higher then their first station. This then, will doe no hurt.

As for *S. Irenaus*, he indeed does say that Presbyters succeed the Apostles, but what Presbyters he means, he tells us, even such Presbyters as were also Bishops, such as *S. Peter* and *S. John* was, who call themselves Presbyters, his words are these. *Propterea eis qui in Ecclesiâ sunt Presbyteris ab audire oportet his qui successionem habent ab Apostolis, qui cum Episcopatus successionem charisma veritatis certum secundum placitum Patris acceperunt.* And a little after, *Tales Presbyteros nutrit Ecclesia, de quibus & Propheta ait, & dabo Principes tuos in pace, & Episcopos tuos in iustitiâ.* So that he gives testimony for us, not against us. As for *S. Hierome*, the third man, he in the succession to the honour of the Apostolate joynes Presbyters with Bishops, and that's right enough, for if the Bishop alone does succeed in plenitudinem potestatis Apostolicæ ordinariæ, as I have proved he does, then also it is as true of the Bishop together with his concessus Presbyterorum. *Episcopi & Presbyteri habeant in exemplum Apostolos & Apostolicos viros, quorum honorem possidentes, habere nitantur & meritum,* those are his words, and in force not so much as may be safely granted, for reddendo singula singulis, Bishops succeed Apostles, and Presbyters Apostolick men, and such were many that had not at first any power Apostolick.

Lib. 4. c. 43.

Cap. 44.

Epi. 2. 13.

licall, and that's all that can be inferred from this place of *S. Hierome*. I know nothing else to stay me, or to hinder our assent to those authorities of Scripture I have alleadged, and the full voyce of traditive interpretation.

§ 12.
And the
institution
of Episco-
pacy as
well as of
the Apo-
stolate ex-
pressed to
be Divine,
by primi-
tive autho-
rity,
Epist. 27.

*Epist. 65. ad
Rogatian.*

Epist. 76.

TH^e second argument from Antiquity is the direct testimony of the Fathers for a *Divine institution*. In this *S. Cyprian* is most plentifull, *Dominus noster ** Episcopi honorem & Ecclesia suarationem disponens in Evangelio, dicit Petro &c: Inde per temporum & successionum vices Episcoporum ordinatio & Ecclesia ratio decurrit, ut Ecclesia super Episcopos constitutur & omnis actus Ecclesia per eosdem Prapositos gubernetur. Cum hoc itaq; Divina lege fundatum sit &c: Our Lord did institute in the Gospell the honour of a Bishop.* Hence comes the ordination of Bishops, and the Church is built upon them, and every action of the Church is to be governed by them, and this is founded upon a Divine law. *Meminisse autem Diaconi debent quoniam Apostolos, i.e. Episcopos, & prapositos Dominus elegit. Our Lord hath chosen Apostles, that is, Bishops and Church-governours.* And a little after. *Quod si nos aliquid audere contra Deum possumus qui Episcopos facit, possunt & contra nos audere Diaconi, a quibus sunt. We must not attempt any thing against God who hath instituted Bishops.* The same Father in his Epistle to *Magnus* disputes against *Novatianus* his being a Bishop. *Novatianus in Ecclesia non est, nec Episcopus computari potest, qui Evangelica* &

& Apostolicâ traditione contemptâ, nemini succedens à seipso ordinatus est. If there was both an Evangelicall, and an Apostolick tradition, for the successive ordination of Bishops, by other Bishops, (as S. Cyprian affirms there is, by laying Novatianus contemned it,) then certainly the same Evangelicall power did institute that calling, for the *modus* of whose election, it took such particular order.

S. Ignatius long before him, speaking concerning his absent friend Sotion the Deacon, *ἔγω' ὑπακούω ἐν ὑποτασσέναι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ χρεῖται διὸ, ἐν ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.* He wishes for the good mans company, because *by the grace of God, and according to the law of Iesus Christ, he was obedient to the Bishop and his Clergy.* And a little after. *πρῶτον ἐν ὅῃ καὶ ὑμεῖς ὑπακούετε τῷ Ἐπισκόπῳ ὑμῶν, καὶ ὅτι μὴδὲν αὐτῷ ἀντιλέγῃν. ὃ δὲ τυποῖ καὶ βλέπόμενοι πλατῶντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀδρανῶς παρελογίζεσθαι καὶ μὴ δυνάμενοι παρὰ τίνος παρελογισθῆναι. τὸ δὲ τοῦτο, ὃ οὐκ ἀδρανῶς ἀλλὰ οὕτως δεῖ, ἔχει τὴν ἀναφορὰν.* It is home enough. *Ye ought to obey your Bishop, and to contradict him in nothing.* It is a fearefull thing to contradict him: For *whosoever does so, does not mock a visible man, but the invisible, undeceivable God. For this contumely relates not to man but to God.* So S. Ignatius, which could not be true, were it a humane constitution and no Divine ordinance. But more full are those words of his in his Epistle to the Ephesians, *Σταδίοντι ἀγαπᾶται ὑποταγῆναι τῷ Ἐπισκόπῳ, καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις, καὶ τοῖς διακόνις. ὃ δὲ τύπος ὑποτασσόμενος ὑπακούει Χριστῷ τῷ κεφαλῇ τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ.* He that obeyes the Bishop and Clergy obeyes Christ, who did constitute

tute and ordaine them. This is plain and dogmaticall, I would be loath to have two men so famous, so Ancient, and so resolute, speake halfe so much against us.

*Quaest. Vet. &
N. Testam.
qu. 97.*

But it is a generall resolve, and no private opinion. For S. *Austin* is confident in the case with a *Ne. mo ignorat Episcopos Salvatore[m] Ecclesiis instituisse. Ipse enim priusquam in caelos ascenderet, imponens manum Apostolis, ordinavit eos Episcopos.* No man is so ignorant but he knowes that our blessed Saviour appointed Bishops over Churches, for before his ascension into Heaven, he ordained the Apostles to be Bishops. But long before him,

*Euseb. lib. 4.
c. 22.*

Hegeſippus going to Rome, and by the way calling in at Corinth, and divers other Churches, discoursed with their severall Bishops, and found them Catholick and Holy, and then staid at Rome three successions of Bishops, *Anicetus, Soter, and Eleutherius. Sed in omnibus istis ordinationibus, vel in ceteris quas per reliquas urbes videram ita omnia habebantur, sicut lex antiquitus tradidit, & Propheta indicaverunt, ET DOMINUS STATUIT.* All things in these ordinations or successions were as our Lord had appointed. All things, therefore both of doctrine and discipline, and therefore the ordinations themselves too. Further yet, and it is worth observing, there was never any Bishop of Rome from S. *Peter* to S. *Sylveſter*, that ever writ decretall Epistle now extant and transmitted to us, but either professedly or accidentally he said or intimated, *that the order of Bishops did come from God.*

S. Ire-

S. Irenæus speaking of Bishops successors to the ^{Lib. 4. c. 43.} Apostles, saith that with their order of Bishoprick, they have received *charisma veritatis certum*, a true, and certaine or indelible character, *secundum placitum Patris*, according to the will of God the Father. And this also is the doctrine of S. Ambrose, ^{In 1. Corinth. 12.} Ideò quam melior Apostolus aliquando tamen eget Prophetis, & quia ab uno Deo Patre sunt omnia, singulos Episcopos singulis Ecclesiis præesse decrevit. God from whom all good things doe come, did decree that every Church should be governed by a Bishop. And againe, ^{De dignit. Sac. cerd. cap. 2.} Honor igitur, Fratres, & sublimitas Episcopalis, nullis poterit comparationibus adequari; Si Regum fulgori compares &c: and a little after, Quid jam de plebeiâ dixerim multitudine, cui non solum præferri à Domino mernit, sed ut eam quocūq; jure tueatur patrio, præceptis imperatum est Evangelicis. The honour and sublimity of the Bishop is an incomparable prebeminence and is by God set over the people, and it is commanded by the precept of the holy Gospell that he should guide them by a Fathers right. And in the close of his discourse, Sic certè à Domino ad B. Petrum dicitur, Petre amas me? repetitum est à Domino tertio, Pasce oves meas. Quas oves, & quem gregem non solum tunc B. suscepit Petrus, sed & cum illo nos suscepimus omnes. Our blessed Lord committed his sheep to S. Peter to be fed, and in him we (who have Pastorall or Episcopall authority) have received the same authority and commission. Thus also divers of the Fathers speaking of the ordination of S. Timothy to be Bishop, and of S. Paul's intimation, that

Homil. 4.
 Græc. 3. lat.
 in 1. Tim. 1.
 cap.
 In 1. Tit.

Acts 20.

† Hom. 32. in
 Iohan.

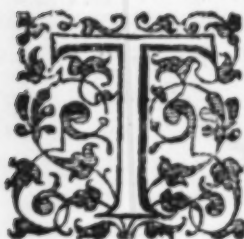
* Can. 6.

a c. 25.
 b Oñauum
 Can. 7.
 c Epist. 2.

it was by Prophecy, affirme it to be done by order of the Holy Ghost. ἡ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας; καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἀγία, saith *S. Chrysostome*, he was ordained by Prophecy, that is by the Holy Ghost. ὁ δὲ οὐ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἐκείνου, Thou wert not made Bishop by humane constitution. ἀνθρώπων κατασκευῇ, *O Ecumenius*. By Divine revelation, saith *Theodoret*. By the command of the Holy Ghost, so *Theophylact*; and indeed so *S. Paul*, to the assembly of Elders and Bishops met at *Miletus*, *Spiritus S. posuit vos Episcopos*, the Holy Ghost hath made you Bishops: & to be sure *S. Timothy* was amongst them, and he was a Bishop, and so were diverse others there present; therefore the order it selfe is a ray streaming from the Divine beauty, since a single person was made Bishop by revelation. I might multiply authorities in this particular, which are very frequent and confident for the Divine institution of Episcopacy, in † *Origen*, in the Councell of *Carthage* recorded by *S. Cyprian*, in the collection of the * *Oriental* Canons by *Martinus Bracarensis*: in the Councells of ^a *Aquisgrane*, and ^b *Toledo*, and many more. The summe is that which was taught by ^c *S. Sixtus*, *Apostolorum dispositione, ordinante Domino Episcopi primitus sunt constituti*. The Lord did at first ordaine, and the Apostles did so order it, and so Bishops at first had their Originall constitution.

These and all the former who affirme Bishops to be successors of the Apostles, & by consequence to have the same institution, drive all to the same issue, and are sufficient to make faith, that it was the doctrine

doctrine Primitive, and Catholick that Episcopacy is a divine institution, which *Christ Planted* in the first founding of Christendome, which the Holy Ghost *Watered* in his first descent on Pentecost, and to which we are confident that *God will give an increase* by a never failing succession, unlesse where God removes the Candlestick, or which is all one, takes away the starre, the Angell of light from it, that it may be envelop'd in darknesse, *usq. ad consumptionem seculi & aperturam tenebrarum*. The conclusion of all, I subjoyne in the words of Venerable Bede before quoted, *sunt ergo jure Divino Episcopi à Presbyteris pralatione distincti*. Lib. 3. in Lucam. 15. Bishops are distinct from Presbyters, and Superiour to them by the law of God.



H second Basis of Episcopacy is *Apostolicall tradition*. We have seen what Christ did, now wee shall see what was done by his Apostles. And since they knew their Masters mind so well, wee can never better confide in any argument

Lib. 3. cap. 5.

to prove *Divine institution* of a derivative authority then the practise Apostolicall. *Apostoli enim Discipuli veritatis existentes, extra omne mendacium sunt, non enim communicat mendacium veritati, sicut non communicant tenebra luci, sed praesentia alterius excludit alterum.* saith S. Irenaeus.

§ 13.

In pursuance of the *Divine institution*, the Apostles did ordaine Bishops in severall Churches,

First, then, the Apostles did presently after the Ascension fixe an Apostle or a Bishop in the chayre of *Ierusalem*. For they knew that *Ierusalem* was shortly to be destroyed, they themselves foretold of miseries and desolations to insue, (*Petrus & Paulus praedicunt cladem Hierosolymitanam*, saith

LaTan-

Lactantius l. 4. in st.) famines and warres, and not a stone left upon another was the fate of that Rebellious City by Christs owne prediction, which themselves recorded in Scripture. And to say they understood not what they writ, is to make them *Enthusiasts*, and neither good Doctors nor wise seers. But it is *ἐξουσία* that the holy Spirit which was promised *to lead them into all truth* would instruct them in so concerning an issue of publike affaires, as was so Great desolation, and therefore they began betimes to establish that Church, and to fixe it upon it's perpetuall base. 2^{ly} The Church of *Ierusalem* was to be the president and platforme for other Churches. [*The word of God went forth into all the world, beginning first at Ierusalem*], and therefore also it was more necessary a Bishop should be there plac'd betimes, that other Churches might see their government from whence they receiv'd their doctrine, that they might see from what starres their continuall fluxe of light must streame. 3^{ly} The Apostles were actually dispers'd by persecution, and this to be sure they look'd for, and therefore (so implying the necessity of a Bishop to governe in their absence or decession any wayes) they ordain'd *S. James* the first Bishop of *Ierusalem*; there he fixt *As s. James* his chayre, there he liv'd Bishop for 30 yeares, and at Hierusalem. finish'd his course with glorious Martyrdome. If this be prov'd we are in a fayre way for practise Apostolicall.

First, let us see all that is said of *S. James* in Scripture, that may concerne this affayre. *Acts, 15.* We

find *S. James* in the *Synod at Ierusalem*, not disputing, but giving finall determination to that Great Question about *Circumcision*. [And when there had beene much disputing, *Peter* rose up and said &c:] He first drave the question to an issue, and told them what he beleiv'd concerning it, with a *wisdom*, we trust it will goe as well with us without *circumcision*, as with our Forefathers who us'd it. But *S. James* when he had summ'd up what had beene said by *S. Peter*, gave sentence and finall determination. *Διὸ καὶ ἐγὼ κρίνω. wherefore I judge or give sentence.* So he. The Acts of Councell which the Brethren or Presbyters did use were *deliberative*, they disputed, v. 7. *S. Peter's* act was *declarative*, but *S. James* his was *decisive*, which proves him clearely (if by reasonableness of the thing and the successive practise of Christendome in imitation of this first Councell Apostolicall we may take our estimate) that *S. James* was the President of this Synod, which considering that he was none of the twelve (as I proved formerly) is unimaginable, were it not for the advantage of the place, it being held in *Ierusalem*, where he was *Hierosolymorum Episcopus* (as *S. Clement* call's him) especially in the presence of *S. Peter*, who was *primus Apostolus*, and decked with many personall priviledges and prerogatives.

* Adde to this, that although the whole Councell did consent to the sending of the Decretall Epistle, and to send *Judas* and *Silas*, yet because they were of the Presbytery, and Colledge of *Ierusalem*, *S. James* his Clergy, they are said, as by way of appropriation

appropriation to come from *S. Iames*. *Gal. 2. v. 12.* Upon which place *S. Austin* saith thus, *Cum vidisset quosdam venisse à Iacobo, i. e. à Iudaà, nam Ecclesia Hierosolymitana Iacobus præsuit.* To this purpose that of *Ignatius* is very pertinent calling *S. Stephen* the Deacon of *S. Iames*, and in his Epistle to *Hero*, saying that he did Minister to *S. Iames* and the Presbyters of *Ierusalem*, which if we expound according to the knowne discipline of the Church in *Ignatius* time (who was *Suppar Apostolorum*, onely not a contemporary Bishop) here is plainly the eminency of an Episcopall chayre, and *Ierusalem* the seat of *S. Iames*, and the Clergy his owne, of a Colledge of which he was the *præpositus Ordinarius*, he was their *Ordinary*. *Epist. ad Trall,*

* The second evidence of Scripture is [*Acts. 21.* *And when we were come to Ierusalem the Brethren received us gladly, and the day following Paul went in with us unto Iames, and all the Elders were present.*] Why unto *Iames*? Why not rather into the Presbytery, or Colledge of Elders, if *Iames* did not *eminere*, were not the *ἐγκεινός*, the *Præpositus* or Bishop of them all?

Now that these conjectures are not vayne and impertinent, see it testified by Antiquity, to which in matter of fact, and Church-story, he that will not give faith upon concurrent testimonies, and contradicted by Antiquity is a mad man, and may as well disbelieve every thing that he hath not seene himselfe, and can no way prove that himselfe was Christned, and to be sure, after 1600 yeares there is
no

no possibility to disprove a matter of fact that was never question'd or doubted of before, and therefore can never obtayne the faith of any man to his contradictory, it being impossible to prove it.

lib. 2. hist.
cap. 1.

Eusebius reports out of *S. Clement*. Πέτρον δὲ οὐκ ἔχ' Ἰακώβον καὶ Ἰωάννην μὲν πρῶτον ἀνάστην τῶν σωτῆρος ὡς αὐτὸν τῷ Κυρίῳ συνεπισημείωται, μετὰ ἐπιδικασθεὶς δὲ ἔξῃς, ἀλλ' Ἰακώβον καὶ Ἰησοῦν, ἐπίσκοπον Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐλάβε. *S. Peter and S. Iohn* although they were honoured of our Lord, yet they would not themselves be, but made *Iames* surnamed the Just, Bishop of Jerusalem; And the reason is that which is given by *Hegesippus* in *Eusebius* for his successor *Simeon Cleopha*, for when *S. Iames* was crown'd with Martyrdome, and immediately the City destroyed, *Traditur Apostolos qui supererant in commune consilium habuisse quem oportere dignum SUCCESSIONE IACOBI judicari*. It was concluded for *Simeon*, because he was the Kinsman of our Lord as *S. Iames* also his Predecessor. The same concerning *S. Iames* is also repeated by *Eusebius*. *Judaiergo cum Paulus provocasset ad Caesarem..... In Iacobum fratrem Domini cui ab APOSTOLIS SEDES HIEROSOLYMITANA DELATA FUIT, omnem suam malevolentiam convertunt.*

lib. 7. c. 46.
ex lib. 3. cap.
ult.

In the Apostolicall constitutions under the name of *S. Clement* the Apostles are brought in speaking thus. *De ordinatis autem à nobis Episcopis in vitâ nostrâ, significamus vobis quod hi sunt; Hierosolymis ordinatus est Iacobus Frater Domini. S. Iames the Brother of our Lord was ordayned Bishop of Iernsalem by us [Apostles.]* The same is witnessed by *Anacletus*.

cletus. Porro & Hierosolymitarum primus Episcopus ^{Epist. 2.}
B. Iacobus qui Iustus dicebatur, & secundum carnem Domini nuncupatus est frater, à Petro, Iacobo, & Iohanne Apostolis est ordinatus. And the same thing in termes is repeated by *Anicetus*, with a *Scimus enim* ^{Epist. decret. Unica}
Beatissimum Iacobum &c: Iust as Anacletus before.
S. Iames was Bishop of *Ierusalem* and *Peter, Iames,* and *Iohn* were his Ordayners.

But let us see the testimony of one of *S. Iames* his Successors in the same Chayre, who certainly was the best witness of his owne Church Records. *S. Cyrill* of *Ierusalem* is the man. *Nam de his non mihi solum, sed etiam Apostolis, & IACOBO HUIUS ECCLESIAE OLIM EPISCOPO cura fuit,* speaking of the question of circumcision, and things sacrificed to Idols, and againe, he calls *S. Iames, primum huius pa-* ^{Catech. 4.}
rochie Episcopum, the first Bishop of this Diocesse. ^{Catech. 16.}

S. Austin also attests this story. *Cathedra tibi quid fecit Ecclesia Romana, in qua Petrus sedet, & in qua hodiè Anastasius sedet? Vel Ecclesia Hierosolymitana* ^{lib: 2. cont. lit: Peti: c. 5 1. 6^a lib: 2. cont: Cresconic. 37^a}
IN QVA IACOBUS SEDET, & in qua hodiè Iohannes sedet? I must not omitt the testimony of *S. Ierome*, ^{lib: de Script. Eccles. in Iacobo.}
for it will be of great use in the sequel, *Iacobus* (saith he) *post passionem Domini statim ab Apostolis Hierosolymorum Episcopus ordinatus,* and the same also he repeates out of *Hegeſippus*. * There are many more testimonies to this purpose, as of *S. Chrysostome*, ^{a homil: 38. in 1. Cor. 15. & 33. hom: in 15. Act. b heref. 66. c in 1. Galat. d cap. 33.}
S. Epiphanius, *S. Ambrose*, the Councell of *Constantinople* in *Trullo*. But *Gregorius Turonensis* rises a little higher, *Iacobus Frater Domini vocitatus, ab ipso Domino nostro Iesu Christo Episco-*

homil. 3. in
Act.

hæres. 78.

pus dicitur ordinatus. S. James the Brother of our Lord is said to have beene ordain'd Bishop by our Lord Iesus Christ himselfe. If by [Ordinatus] he meanes [designatus] he agrees with S. Chrysostome: But either of them both will serve the turne for the present. But either in one sense or the other it is true, and attested also by Epiphanius, & primus hic accepit Cathedram Episcopatus, cui concedidit Dominus thronum suum in terrâ primò. S. James had first the Episcopall chayre, for our Lord first intrusted his earthly throne to him. And thus we are incircled with a cloud of witnesses, to all which if we adde what I before observed, that S. James is in Scripture called an Apostle, and yet he was none of the twelve, and that in the sense of Scripture and the Catholike Church, a Bishop and an Apostle is all one, it followes from the premises, (and of them already there is faith enough made) that S. James was by Christs owne designation, and ordination Apostolicall made Bishop of the Church of Ierusalem, that is, had power Apostolicall concredited to him which Presbyters had not, and this Apostolate was limited and fixed, as his Successors since have beene.

S. Simeon
to be his
successor,

lib. 3. hist.
cap. 11.

But that this also was not a temporary businesse, and to expire with the persons of S. James and the first Apostles, but a regiment of ordinary and successive duty in the Church, it appeares by the ordination of S. Simeon the sonne of Cleophas to be his Successor. It is witnessed by Eusebius, *Post martyrium Iacobi traditur Apostolos &c. habuisse in commune Concilium quem oporteret dignum successionem Iacobi*

Iacobi judicari, omnesq; uno consilio, atq; uno consensu Simeonem Cleopha filium decrevisse ut Episcopatus sedem susciperet. The same also he transcribes out of *Hegeſippus*, *Posteaquam Iacobus Martyr effectus est* lib 4. cap. 22. *electione divinâ Simeon Cleopha filius Episcopus ordinatur, electus ab omnibus pro eo quod esset consobrinus Domini.* S. Simeon was ordain'd Bishop by a Divine election; And *Epiphanius* in the Catalogue of the Bishops of *Ierusalem*, reckons first *Iames*, and next *Simeon*, *qui sub Trajano crucifixus est.* heref. 66.

THE next Bishop we find ordain'd by the Apostles was *Timothy* at *Ephesus*. That he was ordain'd by an Apostle appears in Scripture. For *S. Paul* impos'd hands on him, that's certayne, *Excita Gratiam quæ in te est per impositionem manuum mearum, by the laying on of MY HANDS.* That he was there a Bishop is also apparent, from the power and offices concredited to him. 1. He was to be * resident at *Ephesus*. And although for the publike necessities of the Church, and for assistance to *S. Paul* he might be called sometimes from his Charge, yet there he liv'd and dyed as the Church story writes, there was his ordinary residence, and his avocations were but temporary and occasionall, and when it was, his Cure was supplied by *Tychicus*, whom *S. Paul* sent to *Ephesus* as his Vicar, as I shall shew hereafter. § 14. S. Timothy at Ephesus, 2. Tim. 1. 6. * 1. Tim. 1. 3.

2. *S. Paul* in his epistles to him, gave directions to him for *Episcopall deportment* as is plaine. *A Bishop must be blamelesse, the husband of one wife, &c.* 1. Tim. 3.

3. S. Paul concredits jurisdiction to S. Timothy. Over the people; *περάλλας πάντα ἔδιδουκα. περάλλαν* is of as great extent in S. Timothies commission as *διδάσκων*. Commanding as teaching. Over Presbyters; but yet so as to make difference between them and the Neotericks in Christianity the one as Fathers, the other as Brethren. *ἐπίκλησις* is denied to be used towards either of them. *ἐπίκλησις, ἐπίκλησις* saith Suidas, a dishonourable upbraiding or objurgation. Nay it is more; *ἐπιπλήτω* is *castigo, plagam infero*, saith Budæus; so that, that kind of Rebuking the Bishop is forbidden to use, either toward Priest or Deacon, Clergy or Laity, Old or Young. [for a Bishop must be no striker] but *περάλλει*, that's given him in commission both to old and young, Presbyters and Catechumens, that is, *Require them; postulas, provoca. προκαλῆσαι εἰς συμμαχίαν*. Synesius. To be provoked to a Duel, to be challenged. and *ἐπελάω ὑμᾶς εἰς ἐπελάω*. Chrysostome. *Ad precandum vos provocho. ἐπελάω με εἰς δάκρυα*. Eurip. Thou makest me, or compellest me to shed teares. *Suaviter omnia*. That's the way S. Paul takes. Meekely; but yet so as to doe his office, to keep all in their severall duties, and that is by a *περάλλας πάντα*, command these things, for so he summes up the Bishops duty towards Presbyters, Neophytes, and Widdowes. Give all these things in charge. Command all to doe their duty. Command, but not objurgate. *Et quid negotii esset Episcopo ut Presbyterum non objurgaret nisi super Presbyterum non haberet potestatem*. So Epiphanius urges this argument to advantage. For indeed,

1 Tim. 5. 1.

1 Tim. 5. 7.

heref. 75.

deed it had been to little purpose for S. Paul to have given order to *Timothy*, how he should exercise his jurisdiction over Presbyters and people, if he had had no jurisdiction and coercitive authority at all. Nay, and howsoever S. Paul forbids to *Timothy* to use ἐπιπληξαι, which is ἐπιτίμης, yet S. Paul in his second Epistle bids him use it, intimating, upon great occasion. ἐλέγξον, ἐπιτίμῃ σου, ὁδοῦσόν. 2. Tim. 4. 2. To be sure παράκλησις, if it be but an *urging*, or an *exhortation*, is not all, for S. Paul gives him *coercitive* jurisdiction, as well as *directive*. Over Widdowes. νωτίσας ἡλικίας ὁδοῦ. Reject the younger Widdowes, viz. à collegio viduarum, ab eleemosynis Ecclesia. Over Presbyters, for he commands him to have sufficient probate in the accusation of Presbyters, of which if he was not to take cognisance, it was to no purpose to number witnesses. Κατὰ πρεσβυτέρου κατηγορίας μὴ παραδέχου. Receive not a publick accusation [in foro externo] against a Priest, Non vocabis in jus nisi in testimonio duorum, &c. to wit, in causes criminall. That is sufficient intimation of the Bishops power To TAKE COGNISANCE in causes criminall; then for his *punishing* in such causes, it follows in the next words, τὰς ἀμαρτανόοντας ἰσχύει πάντων ἐλέγχει. 1. Tim. 5. 20. Reprehend them publikely, that is, disgrace them. For ἐλέγχεις is ἐπορεύσας, indecorus. Ἀρχῆοι ἰβμωγῇ, ἐλέγχεις, ὅντι ἀδίδα. Homer Iliad. γ. So that ἐσέποι πάντων ἐλέγχει in S. Paul, is to call them to publick account; that's one part of the jurisdiction. ἐλέγχειν τίτε λαλήσῃ, is to examine. Plato Epist. δίδωαι ἐλέγχειν ἑβία, to give an account of one's life. idem in Apolog. And then

then also it implies punishment upon conviction,

Ἀρεσίδια, τῷ δὲ σὺ ἀναξ, ἰδίαν ἄχαι
Πᾶσι ἀλέγῃσιν διδῶσαι μέγιστον ἑσπέρην. *Hom. c. Iliad.*

But the words in S. Paul will cleare this businesse. *Let them that sinne be publikly sham'd, ἵνα καὶ λοιπὸν φόβῳ ἔχων, that the rest may feare;* A punishment most certainly, something that is ἐφ' ὧσι καὶ φοβερὰν, *Malum in genere pæne.* What else should they feare? to sinne? Most true. But why upon this reprehension, if not for feare of being punished?

Add to all this, that here is in this chapter the plaine giving of a jurisdiction, an erection of a judicatory, and is all the way, direction for his proceeding in causes criminall, appears most evidently, *v. 21. I charge thee before God and the Lord Iesus Christ and the elect Angells, that thou observe these things, κατὰ ἀποφύκτας, without prejudging the cause of any mā before it comes in open contestatiō under publick test of witnesses, καὶ οὐκ ἐν προνομῷ, doing nothing for favour or partiality.* Nothing in the world is plainer for the erection of a Consistory then these mandates of S. Paul.

Lastly, to make up his Episcopall function compleat S. Paul gives him also direction concerning giving of orders. [*Lay hands suddenly on no man.*] *sub testatione ergo ea quæ ad ordinationem Ecclesiæ mandat custodiri Ne facile aliquis accipiat Ecclesiasticam dignitatem peccat enim si non probat & sis ordinet. Melior enim ceteris debet probari qui ordinandus est. Hac Episcopus custodiens, castum se exhibebit religioni, cuius rei in futuro pramium consequetur.*

So

So S. Ambrose upon the place, who is so farre from exempting Presbyters from being submitted to the Bishops consistory, that he does appropriate all his former cautions concerning the judicature, and coercitive jurisdiction to causes of the Clergy.

Add to this evidence of Scripture the testimony of Catholike and unquestion'd Antiquity affirming S. Timothy to have beene ordain'd Bishop of Ephesus by S. Paul. Eusebius speaking of the successions to S. Paul, *sed & Lucas* (saith he) *in actibus Apostolorum plurimos ejus socios memorat, sicut Timothei & Titi, quorum alter in Ephesi Episcopus ... ab eo ordinatus praeficitur.* S. Ambrose affirms that S. Paul having ordain'd him Bishop writes his first Epistle to him to instruct him in his Episcopall office. *Hunc igitur jam creatum Episcopum instruit per Epistolam quomodo deberet Ecclesiam ordinare.* And that this Epistle was written to instruct S. Timothy for his owne person, and all Bishops in him for their deportment in the office of a Bishop is the united, concurrent testimony of S. ^a Vincentius, ^b Tertullian, ^c S. Chrysostome, S. ^d Ambrose, ^e Occumenius, ^f Epiphanius, ^g Primasius, and S. ^h Gregory. As for Epiphanius in the place now quoted he uses it as an argument against the madnesse and stupidity of Aërius contending a Bishop and a Presbyter to be all one; *docet Divinus Apostoli sermo quis sit Episcopus & quis Presbyter quum dicit ad Timotheum qui erat Episcopus, Presbyterum ne objurges, &c.* I shall transcribe no more testimonies for this particular but that of the generall Councell of Chalcedon in

Lib. 3. c. 4.

Praefat. in 1. Tim.

^a Contr.

haer.

^b contr. Mar-

cion. l. 5.

^c hom. c. 10 in

1. Timoth.

^d in 6. cap. in

1. Tim.

^e in 1. Tim.

4. c. & 5. c.

^f haer. 75.^g ad Timoth.

cap. 4.

^h in Pastor.

part. 2. c. 11.

Acts. 11.

the

the case of *Bassianus* and *Stephanus*; *Leontius* the Bishop of *Magnesia* spake it in full Councell, ἀπὸ τῆ ἀγίας Τιμοθέως μέχρι νῦν εἰκοσι ἑπτὰ ἐπίσκοποι ἐξήσαν παύτως ἐκ ἐπισκοπῆς ἐκείνης. From *S. Timothy* untill now there have beene 27 Bishops or dayned in *Ephesus*. Who desires a multitude of testimonies (though enough already have deposed in the cause, beside the evidence of Scripture) may to these adde that saying of *S. Chrysostome*, that to *Timothy* was committed ἵδρος ἐλάβηθεν τῷ τῷ Ἀσίας; of *Theodore* calling him *Episcopum Asianorum*, the subscription to the first Epistle to *Timothy*, (which if it were not writ by *S. Paul*, yet at least, will prove a primitive record, and very Ancient,) the fragment of the Martyrdome of *S. Timothy* in *Photius*, ⁱ *S. Ierome*, ^k *Theophylact*, ^l *Isidore*, and ^m *Nicephorus*.

And now all is well if after all this *Timothy* doe not prove an *Evangelist*, for this one objection will be sufficient to catch at to support a drowning cause, and though neither pertinent nor true, yet shall be laid in the ballance against all the evidence of Scripture and Catholick antiquity. But [*doe the work of an Evangelist*] (saith *S. Paul*) therefore it is cleare *S. Timothy* was no Bishop. No, was not? That's hard. But let us try however.

1. τὴν διακονίαν σου πληροῦσθαι, those are the next words, *fulfill thy Deaconship*. And therefore he was no Bishop? As well this as the other, for if *Deaconship* doe not exclude *Episcopacy*, why shall his being an *Evangelist* exclude it? Or why may not his being a *Deacon* exclude his being an *Evangelist*, as well

In Titum.
 & 1. Philip.
 In 1. Tim. 3.

Biblioth. Photij. n. 254.
 i De script. Eccles.
 k In præfat. in 1. Timoth.
 l De vitâ & morte SS. 87, & 88.
 m Lib. 2. c. 34.
 2. Tim. 4. 5.

well as his being an *Evangelist*, exclude his being a *Bishop*? Whether is higher, a *Bishoprick*, or the office of an *Evangelist*? If a *Bishops* office be higher, and therefore cannot consist with an *Evangelist*, then a *Bishop* cannot be a *Priest*, and a *Priest* cannot be a *Deacon*, and an *Evangelist* can be neither, for that also is thought to be higher then them both. But if the office of an *Evangelist* be higher, then as long as they are not disparate, much lesse destructive of each other, they may have leave to consist in subordination. For as for the pretence that an *Evangelist* is an office of a *moveable employment*, and a *Bishoprick* of *fixt residence*, that will be considered by and by.

2. All the former discourse is upon supposition, that the word *diaconia*, implies the office of a *Deacon*, and so it may as well as *S. Pauls* other phrase implies *S. Timothy* to be an *Evangelist*. For if we make it well it is ἔργον ποιεῖν Ἐυαγγελιστῶ, doe the worke, not the office of an *Evangelist*. And what's that? We may see it in the verses immediately going before, κήρυξον ἔλεγον ἐπίστασι διχαίρωσι, ἀχαίρωσι, ἐλεγχον, ἐπιτιμῶσιν, παρακάλουν ἐν ᾧ παρ μακροθυμίας καὶ διδαχῆς. And if this be the work of an *Evangelist* which *S. Paul* would have *Timothy* performe, viz. to preach, to be instant in season, and out of season, to reprove, to rebuke, to exhort, there is no harme done, a *Bishop* may, nay he must doe all this.

3. Consider we what an *Evangelist* is, and thence take our estimate for the present. 1. He that writes the story of the Gospel is an *Evangelist*, so

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the

the Greek Scholiast calls him. And in this sense indeed *S. Timothy* was not an Evangelist, but yet if he had, he might have been a Bishop, because *S. Mark* was an Evangelist to be sure, and perhaps as sure that he was a Bishop, sure enough; for they are both delivered to us by the Catholick testimony of the Primitive Church, as we shall see hereafter, so farre as concerns our Question. But then again, an Apostle might be an Evangelist, *S. Matthew* was, and *S. John* was, and the Apostolicall dignity is as much inconsistent with the office of an Evangelist, as Episcopall preheminance, for I have proved these two names *Apostle*, and *Bishop* to signify all one thing. 2. *S. Ambrose* gives another exposition of [*Evangelists*.] *Evangelista Diaconi sunt sicut fuit Philippus*. *S. Philip* was one of the seven, commonly called *Deacons*, and he was also a *Presbyter*, and yet an *Evangelist*, and yet a *Presbyter* in it's proportion is an office of as necessary residence as a Bishop, or else why are *Presbyters* cry'd oura- gainst so bitterly in all cases, for *non residence*, and yet nothing hinders, but that *S. Timothy*, as well as *S. Philip*, might have been a *Presbyter* and an *Evangelist* together, and then why not a Bishop too, for why should a *Deaconship*, or a *Presbyterate* consist with the office of an *Evangelist*, more then a Bishoprick? 3. Another acceptance of [*Evangelist*] is also in *Eusebius*. *Sed & alii plurimi per idem tempus Apostolorum Discipuli superstites erant.... Nonnulli ex his ardentiores Divina Philosophia.... animas suas verbo Dei consecrabant ut si quibus forte*

In 4. *Ephes.*

Lib. 3. *hist.*
cap. 37.

forte provinciis nomen fidei esset incognitum pradicarent, primaq; apud eos Evangelii fundamenta collocantes Evangelistarum fungebantur officio.

They that planted the Gospell first in any Country, they were Evangelists. *S. Timothy* might be such a one, and yet be a Bishop afterwards. And so were some of this sort of Evangelists. For so *Eusebius*, *Primaq; apud eos fundamenta Evangelii collocantes, atq; ELECTIS QUIBUSQUE EX IPSIS officium regende Ecclesie quam fundaverant committentes, ipsi rursùm ad alias gentes properabant.* So that they first converted the Nation, and then govern'd the Church, first they were Evangelists and afterwards Bishops; and so was *Austin* the Monke that converted England in the time of *S. Gregory* and *Eshelbert*, he was first our Evangelist, and afterwards Bishop of *Dover*. Nay why may they not in this sence be both Evangelists and Bishops at the same time, insomuch as many Bishops have first planted Christianity in divers Countries, as *S. Chrysostome* in *Scythia*, *S. Trophimus*, *S. Denis*, *S. Marke*, and many more. By the way only, according to all these acceptations of the word [*Evangelist*] this office does not imply a perpetuall motion. Evangelists many of them did travell, but they were never the more Evangelists for that, but only their office was writing or preaching the Gospell, and thence they had their name.

*Lib. 10. tri-
part. hist. cap.
5. Theodoret.*

4. The office of an Evangelist was but temporary, and take it in either of the two senses of *Eusebius* or *Oecumenius*, which are the only true and

genuine, was to expire when Christianity was planted every where, and the office of Episcopacy, if it was at all was to be succeeded in, and therefore in no respect could these be inconsistent, at least, not alwaies. * And how *S. Paul* should intend that *Timothy* should keep those rules he gave him, [to the comming of our Lord Iesus Christ,] if the office for the execution of which he gave him the rules, was to expire long before, is not so easily imagined. For if *S. Paul* did direct him in a temporary and expiring office, then in no sense, neither in person, nor in succession could those rules of *S. Paul* be kept till Christs coming, to wit, to judgement. But if he instructed *him* in the perpetuall office of Episcopacy, then it is easy to understand that *S. Paul* gave that caution to *Timothy*, to intimate that those his directions were *not personall*, but for his successors in that charge, to which he had ordained him, *viz.* in the sacred order and office of Episcopacy.

5. Lastly, After all this stirre, there are some of the Fathers, that will by no means admit *S. Timothy* to have been an Evangelist. So *S. Chrysostome*, so *Theophylact*, so the Greek Scholiast, now though we have no need to make any use of it, yet if it be true, it makes all this discourse needlesse, we were safe enough without it, if it be false, then it selfe we see is needlesse, for the allegation of *S. Timothy's* being an Evangelist, is absolutely impertinent, though it had been true.

But

But now I proceed.

Titus was also made a Bishop by the Apostles. § 15.
S. Paul also was his ordainer. 1. *Reliqui te* S. Titus at
Crete. There S. Paul fixt his seat for him, at *Crete.*

2. His worke was τὰ λείποντά ἐν τῇ νήῳ, *to set in order things that are wanting, viz.* to constitute rites and formes of publike Liturgy, to erect a Consistory for cognisance of causes criminall, to dedicate houses for prayer by publick destination for divine Service, and in a word, by his authority to establish such Discipline and Ritualls, as himselfe did judge to be most for edification and ornament of the Church of God. For he that was appointed by S. Paul, to rectify, and set things in order, was most certainly by him supposed to be the Iudge of all the obliquities which he was to rectify. 2. The next worke is Episcopall too, and it is the *ordaining Presbyters in every Citty.* Not Presbyters *collectively* in every Citty, but *distributively*, κατὰ πόλιν, Citty by Citty, that is Elders in severall Citties, one in one Citty, Many in many. For by these Elders are certainly meant Bishops. Of the identity of Names I shall afterwards give an account, but here it is plaine S. Paul expounds himselfe to meane Bishops.

1. In termes and expresse words. [*To ordaine Elders in every Citty; If any be the husband of one wife, &c. For a Bishop must be blamelesse.*] That is, the elders that you are to ordaine in severall Citties must be blamelesse, for else they must not be Bishops. 2. The word ἐπισκοπός cannot hinder this

Titus. 1.

exposition, for S. Peter calls himselfe *ἐπισκοπος*, and S. John, *Presbyter electæ Domine*, and *Presbyter dilectissimo Gajo*. Such Presbyters as these were Apostolicall, and that's as much as Episcopall to be sure. 3. S. Paul addes farther [*a Bishop must be blamelesse* AS THE STEWARD OF GOD. *Who then is that faithfull and wise Steward, whom his Lord shall make ruler?*] S. Pauls Bishop is Gods steward, and Gods steward is the ruler of his houshold, saies our blessed Saviour himselfe, and therefore not a meere Presbyter, amongst whom indeed there is a parity, but no superintendency of Gods making. 4. S. Paul does in the sequell still qualify his Elders or Bishops with more proprieties of rulers. *A Bishop must be no striker, not given to wine.* They are exactly the requisites which our blessed Saviour exacts in his Stewards or Rulers accounts. [*If the Steward of the house will drinke and be DRUNKE, and BEATE his fellow servants, then the Lord of that servant shall come and divide him his portion with unbelievers.*] The steward of the houshold, this Ruler, must not be *ῥαπιστορ*, nor *παιδαγ*, no more must a Bishop, he must not be *given to wine, no striker*; *Nec enim pugilem describit sermo Apostolicus, sed Pontificem instituit quid facere non debet*, saith S. Hierome: still then, these are the Rulers of the Church, which S. Titus was to ordaine, and therefore it is required should Rule well his own house, for how else shall hee take charge of the Church of God, implying that this his charge is to Rule the house of God. 5. The reason why
S. Paul

Adversus Iovinian.

S. Paul appointed him to ordaine these Bishops in Cities is in order to coercitive jurisdiction, because [*many unruly and vaine talkers were crept in, vers. 10.*] and they were to be silenced *ὡς αὐτὸν ἐμωμήσῃ. Their mouths must be stopped.* Therefore they must be such Elders as had superiority of jurisdiction over these impertinent Preachers, which to a single Presbyter, either by Divine or Apostolicall institution no man will grant, and to a Colledge of Presbyters S. Paul does not intend it, for himselfe had given it singly to S. Titus. For I consider,

Titus alone had coercitive jurisdiction before he ordain'd these Elders, be they Bishops, be they Presbyters. The Presbyters which were at Crete before his coming had not Episcopall power, or coercitive jurisdiction, for why then was Titus sent? As for the Presbyters which Titus ordain'd, before his ordaining them, to be sure they had no power at all, they were not Presbyters. If they had a coercitive jurisdiction afterwards, to wit, by their ordination, then Titus had it before in his owne person, (for they that were there before his coming had not, as I shewed) and therefore he must also have it still, for he could not loose it by ordaining others, or if he had it not before, how could he give it unto them whom he ordain'd? For *plus juris in alium transferre nemo potest, quam ipse habet.*

Howsoever it be then, to be sure, Titus had it in his owne person and then it followes Undeniably, that either this coercitive jurisdiction was not necessary for the Church (which would bee either to suppose

suppose men impeccable, or the Church to be exposed to all the inconveniences of Schisme and tumultuary factions without possibility of reliefe) or if it was necessary, then because it was in *Titus* not as a personall prerogative, but a power to be succeeded to; he might ordaine others, he had authority to doe it, with the same power he had himselfe, and therefore since he alone had this coërcion in his owne person, so should his Successors, and then because a single Presbyter, could not have it over his brethren by the confession of all sides, nor the Colledge of Presbyters which were there before his comming had it not, for why then was *Titus* sent with a new commission, nor those which he was to ordaine if they were but meere Presbyters could not have it, no more then the Presbytes that were there before his comming, it followes that those Elders which *S. Paul* sent *Titus* to ordaine being such as were to be constituted in opposition and power over the false Doctors and prating Preachers, and with authority to silence them, (as is evident in the first chapter of that Epistle) these Elders (I say) are verily, and indeed such as himselfe call's Bishops in the proper sense, and acceptation of the word.

6. The *Cretan* Presbyters who were there before *S. Titus* comming, had not power to ordaine others, that is, had not that power which *Titus* had. For *Titus* was sent thither for that purpose, therefore to supply the want of that power. And now, because to ordaine others was necessary for the conservation

servation and succession of the Church, that is, because new generations are necessary for the continuing the world, and meere Presbyters could not doe it, and yet this must be done, not onely by *Titus* himselfe, but after him, it followes undeniably that *S. Paul* sent *Titus* to ordaine men with the same power that himselfe had, that is with more then his first *Cretan* Presbyters, that is Bishops, and he meanes them in the proper sense.

7. That by *Elders in severall Cityes* he meanes Bishops is also plaine from the place where they were to be ordaind, *ἐν τοῖς πόλεσιν*, not *ἐν τοῖς κοίμαις*, or *ἐν τοῖς παλίστοις*. In populous Cityes, not in village Townes, For no Bishops were ever suffered to be in village Townes, as is to be seene in the Councell of ^a *Sardis*, of ^b *Chalcedon*, and *S. Leo*, the Cityes therefore doe at least highly intimate that the persons to be ordain'd were not meere Presbyters. ^c *Epist. 87. ad Episc. Afric.*

The issue of this discourse is, that since *Titus* was sent to *Crete* to ordaine Bishops, himselfe was a Bishop to be sure, at least. If he had ordain'd onely Presbyters, it would have prov'd that. But this inferres him to be a *Metropolitan*, forasmuch as he was Bishop of *Crete*, and yet had many suffragans in subordination to him, of his owne constitution, and yet of proper diocesses. However, if this discourse concludes nothing peculiar, it frees the place from popular prejudice and mistakes, upon the confusion of *Episcopus*, and *Presbyter*; and at least inferres his being a Bishop, if not a great deale more.

M

Yea,

Yea; but did not *S. Titus* ordaine no meere *Presbyters*? yes most certainly. But, so he did *Deacons* too, and yet neither one nor the other are otherwise mentioned in this Epistle but by consequence and comprehension within the superior order. For he that ordaines a Bishop, first makes him a *Deacon*, (and then he obtaines *καλὸν βαθμὸν* a good degree) and then a *Presbyter*, and then a *Bishop*. So that these inferior orders are presuppos'd in the authorizing the Supream, and by giving direction for the qualifications of Bishops, he sufficiently instructs the inferior orders in their deportment, insomuch as they are probations for advancement to the higher.

2. Adde to this, that he that ordaines Bishops in Cityes sets there *τὸν γεννητὸν*, *ordinem generativum Patrum*, as *Epiphanius* calls Episcopacy, and therefore most certainly with intention, not that it should be *καὶ ἀνεστ* *Mannus Mortua*, but, to produce others, and therefore *Presbyters* and *Deacons*.

3. *S. Paul* made no expresse provision for villages, and yet most certainly did not intend to leave them destitute, and therefore he tooke order that such ordinations should be made in Cityes which should be provisionary for Villages, and that is, of such men as had power to ordaine and power to send *Presbyters* to what part of their charge they pleased. For since *Presbyters* could not ordaine other *Presbyters*, as appears by *S. Paul's* sending *Titus* to doe it there, where, most certainly, many *Presbyters* before were actually resident, if *Presbyters* had gone to Villages they must

must have left the Cityes destitute, or if they staid in Cityes the Villages would have perished, and at last, when these men had dyed both one and the other, had beene made a prey to the wolfe, for there could be no sheapheard after the decay of the first generation.

But let us see further into S. Titus his commission and letters of orders, and institution. [*A man that is an heretick after the first and second admonition reject.*] Cognisance of hereticall pravity, and animadversion against the heretick himselfe is most plainly concredited to S. Titus. For first he is to admonish him, then to reject him upon his pertinacy, from the Catholike communion. *Cogere autem illos videtur, qui saepe corripit*, saith S. Ambrose, upon the establishing a coactive, or coërcitive jurisdiction over the Clergy and whole Diocesse.

But I need not specify any more particulars, for S. Paul committed to S. Titus *ἐκτελέσει, αὐτῷ αὐθουρίαν καὶ ἐξουσίαν*, all authority and power. The consequence is that which S. Ambrose prefixes to the Comentary on this Epistle. *Titum Apostolus consecravit Episcopum, & ideo commonet eum ut sit sollicitus in Ecclesiasticâ ordinatione, id est, ad quosdam qui simulatione quâdam dignos se ostentabant ut sublimem ordinem tenerent, simulq; & hereticos ex circumcissione corripiendos.*

And now after so faire preparatory of Scripture we may heare the testimonies of Antiquity witnessing that Titus was by S. Paul made Bishop of Crete. *Sed & Lucas (saith Eusebius) in actibus Apostolorum.... Timothei meminit & Titi quorum alter in E-*

phesō Episcopus: alter ordinandis apud Cretam Eccle-
siis ab eo ordinatus præsicitur. That is it which S.
Ambrose expresses something more plainly, *Titum*
Apostolus consecravit Episcopum, The Apostle conse-
crated Titus Bishop; and Theodoret, calling *Titus*, *Cre-*
tensium Episcopum. The Bishop of the Cretians. And
 for this reason saith S. Chrysost. S. Paul did not write
 to *Sylvanus*, or *Silas*, or *Clemens*, but to *Timothy* and
Titus ἡν ὁ τῆς ἡδὴ Ἑλλάδος ἢ ἐγχοιμενῶς, because to
 these he had already committed the government of
 Churches. But a fuller testimony of S. Titus being
 a Bishop who please may see in S. ^a Hierome, in ^b Do-
 rotheus, in ^c Isidore, in ^d Vincentius, in ^e Theodoret, in
^f S. Gregory, in ^g Primatius, ^h Sedulius, ⁱ Theophylact
 and ^k Nicephorus. To which if we adde the subscrip-
 tion of the Epistle asserted from all impertinent ob-
 jections by the clearer testimony of S. ^l Athanasius,
 S. ^m Jerome, the Syriack translation, ⁿ Oecumenius
 and ^o Theophylact, no confident deniall can ever
 break through, or scape conviction.

And now I know not what objection can fairely
 be made here; for I hope S. Titus was no *Evange-*
list, he is not called so in Scripture, and all Antiquity
 calls him a Bishop, and the nature of his offices, the
 eminence of his dignity, the superiority of jurisdic-
 tion, the cognisance of causes criminal!, and the
 whole exigence of the Epistle proclaime him Bi-
 shop. But suppose a while *Titus* had been an Evan-
 gelist, I would faine know who succeeded him? Or
 did all his office expire with his person? If so, then
 who shall reject Hereticks when *Titus* is dead? Who
 shall

ubi supra.

in 1. Tim. 3.

a de Script:

Eccel in luto.

b in Simpfi.

c de vita &

morte. S. Sanct.

d lib. 38 c 10.

e apud Oecum.

men in prefat.

in Tit. & in

1. Timoth. 3.

f in pastor.

part. 2. c 11.

g prefat: in

1. Tim. & in

2. Tim. 1.

h in 1. Tim.

1. & in 2.

Tim. 1. 6.

i in 1. Tit.

k lib. 2. c 34

l in Synopsi

Sacr. Script.

m ad Paulam

& Eu. Ioch.

n Comment.

ad Titum.

o ibide

shall silence factious Preachers? If not, then still who succeeded him? The Presbyters: How can that be? For if they had more power after his death then before, and govern'd the Churches which before they did not, then to be sure their government in common, is not an Apostolicall Ordinance, much lesse is it a Divine right, for it is postnate to the both. But if they had no more power after Titus then they had under him, how then could they succeed him? There was indeed a dereliction of the authority, but no succession. The succession therefore both in the Metropolis of Crete, and also in the other Cities was made by singular persons, not by a Colledge, for so we find in the *Ἀποδοχαι* recorded by Eusebius that in Gnossus of Crete, Pinytus was a most eminent Bishop, and that Philip was the Metropolitan at Gortyna. *Sed & Pinytus nobilissimus apud Cretam in Episcopis fuit*, saith Eusebius. But of this, lib. 4. c. 31. enough.

§. 16.

MY next instance shall be of one that was an E-
S. Marke
vangelist indeed, one that writ the Gospell, at *Alexan-*
dria, and he was a Bishop of *Alexandria*. In Scripture we find nothing of him but that he was an Evangelist, and a Deacon, for he was Deacon to S. Paul & Barnabas, when they went to the Gentiles, by ordination and speciall designation made at *Antioch*; *συμπαραβύτην δὲ Ἰωάννην καὶ ἰππάρχοντα Μάρκον ἔχει δὲ Ἰω-* Acts. 12. &
άννην ὑπηρέτην. They had John to be their Minister; Acts. 13.
viz: John whose surname was *Marke*. * But we are not to expect all the ordinations made by the

M 3

Apostles

Apostles in their acts written by S. Luke, which end at S. Paul's first going to Rome; but many other things, their founding of diverse Churches, their ordination of Bishops, their journeyes, their persecutions, their Miracles and Martyrdomes are recorded, & rely upon the faith of the primitive Church. And yet the ordination of S. Marke was within the terme of S. Lukes story, for his successor Anianus was made Bishop of Alexandria in the eight yeare of Nero's reigne, five or six yeares before the death of S. Paul. *Igitur Neronis PRIMO Imperij anno post Marcum Evangelistam Ecclesia apud Alexandriam Anianus Sacerdotium suscepit.* So the Latin of Ruffinus reads it, in stead of octavo. Sacerdotium, *ἐπισκοπίας*, that is the Bishoprick, for elle there were many *κληρικοί*, and Priests in Alexandria besides him, and how then he should be S. Markes successor more then the other Prelbyters, is not so soone to be contriv'd. But so the *Collecta* of the Chapter runs. *Quòd post Marcum primus Episcopus Alexandriae Ecclesiae ordinatus sit Anianus, Anianus was consecrated the first Bishop of Alexandria after S. Marke.* * And Philo the Jew telling the story of the Christians in Alexandria, called by the inhabitants, *Cultores*, and *Cultrices*, The worshippers, *Addit autem adhuc his* (saith Eusebius) *quomodo sacerdotes vel Ministri exhibeant officia sua, vel qua sit supra omnia Episcopalis apicis sedes*, intimating that beside the offices of Priests and Ministers, there was an Episcopall dignity which was *apex super omnia*, a height above all employments, established at Alexandria;

lib. 2. hist.
cap. 17.

andria; and how soone that was, is soone computed, for *Philoliv*'d in our blessed Saviours time, and was Embassador to the Emperour *Cajus*, and survived *S. Marke* a little.

But *S. Jerome* will strike up this businesse, *A Mar-* Epist. ad E-
co Evangelistà ad Heraclam usq̃, & *Dionysiam Epif-* vag7.
copos, Presbyteri Egypti semper unum ex se electum
in celsiori gradu collocatum Episcopum nominabant.
Andagaine, Marcus interpret Apostoli Petri, & A- de Script:
lexandrina Ecclesia primus Episcopus. The same is Eccles. & in
 witnessed by ^a *S. Gregory*, ^b *Nicephorus*, and divers proem in
 others. Marth.

Now although the ordination of *S. Marke* is not a lib. 6. Epist.
 specified in the Acts, as innumerable multitudes of 371.
 things more, and scarce any thing at all of any of the b lib 14.
 twelve but *S. Peter*, nothing of *S. James* the sonne cap 39.
 of *Thaddæus*, nor of *Alpheus*, but the Martyrdome
 of one of them, nothing of *S. Bartholomew*, of *S.*
Thomas, of *Simon zelotes*, of *S. Jude* the Apostle,
 scarce any of their names recorded, yet no wise man
 can distrust the faith of such records, which all
 Christendome hitherto, so farre as we know, hath
 acknowledged as authentick, and these ordinations
 cannot possibly goe lesse then Apostolicall, being
 done in the Apostles times, to whom the care of all
 the Churches was concredited, they seeing and be-
 holding severall successions in severall Churches
 before their death, as here at *Alexandria*, first Saint
Marke, then *Anianus*, made Bishop five or sixe
 years before the death of *S. Peter* and *S. Paul*. But
 yet who it was that ordain'd *S. Marke* Bishop of
Alex-

In decret. de
lib. authent.
& apocryph.

Alexandria (for Bishop he was most certainly) is not obscurely intimated by the most excellent man *S. Gelasius* in the *Romane Councell*, *Marcus à Petro Apostolo in Ægyptum directus verbum veritatis predicavit, & gloriose consummarvit Martyrium. S. Peter* sent him into *Egypt* to found a Church, and therefore would furnish him with all things requisite for so great imployment, and that could be no lesse, then the ordinary power Apostolicall.

§ 17.
S. Linus,
and *s. Clement* at
Rome.

lib. 3. cap. 3.
* *Euseb.* lib.
3. cap. 4.

a de præscript.
b lib. 2. contr.
c *Parmen.*
d *Epist.* 65.
e de Script.
Eccles.

BUT in the Church of *Rome*, the ordination of Bishops by the Apostles, and their successions during the times of the Apostles, is very manifest by a concurrent testimony of old writers. *Fundantes igitur, & instruantes beati Apostoli Ecclesiam Lino Episcopatum administrande Ecclesia tradiderunt. Hujus Lini Paulus in his que sunt ad Timotheum Epistolis meminit. Succedit autem ei Anacletus, post eum tertio loco ab Apostolis Episcopatum sortitur Clemens, qui & vidit ipsos Apostolos, & contulit cum eis, cum adhuc insonantem prædicationem Apostolorum, & traditionem ante oculos haberet. So S. Irenæus. * Memoratur autem ex comitibus Pauli Crescens quidam ad Gallias esse præfectus. Linus vero & Clemens in urbe Romæ Ecclesia præfuisse.* Many more testimonies there are of these mens being ordained Bishops of *Rome* by the Apostles, as of *Tertullian*, *Optatus*, *S. Austin*, and *S. Hierome*. But I will not cloy my Reader with variety of one dish, and bee tedious in a thing so evident and known.

S. Iohn

S John ordain'd S. Polycarpe Bishop at Smyrna § 18.
Sicut Smyrnaeorum Ecclesia habens Polycarpum S. Poly-
ab Iohanne conlocatum refert; sicut Romanorum Cle- carpe at
mentem à Petro ordinatum edit, proinde utiq; & ca- Smyrna, &
tera exhibent quos ab Apostolis in Episcopatum con- diverſeo-
stitutos Apostolici seminis traduces habeant. So Ter- thers.
tullian. The Church of Smyrna saith that Poly. *De præscript.*
carpe was placed there by S. John, as the Church of
Rome saith that Clement was ordain'd there by S.
Peter, and other Churches have those whom the
Apostles made to be their Bishops. Polycarpus au- *De Script.*
tem non solum ab Apostolis edoctus sed etiam ab *Eccles. lib. 3. c.*
Apostolis in Asiâ, in eâ quæ est Smyrnis Ecclesiâ con- 35.
stitutus Episcopus & testimonium his perhibent *a Euseb. l. 4.*
quæ sunt in Asiâ Ecclesia omnes, & qui usq; adhuc *c. 23. & lib. 3.*
succeſſerunt Polycarpo &c. The same also is witnes- *c. 4*
*sed by S. Ierome, and * Eusebius: Quoniam autem* *b Origen. lib.*
valde longum est in tali volumine omnium Ecclesia- *10. in 16. Rom.*
rum succeſſiones enumerare, to use S. Irenæus his ex- *c S. Ambros. in*
pression; It were an infinite labour to reckon up all *4 Coloss.*
those whom the Apostles made Bishops with their *d Ignatius E-*
*own hands, as * S. Dionysius the Arcopagite at A-* *pist. ad Ephes.*
thens, b Cajus at Thessalonica, c Archippus at Colosse, *e Euseb. lib.*
d Onesimus at Ephesus, e Antipas at Pergamus, f Epa- *3. c. 35.*
phroditus at Philippi, g Crescens among the Gaules, *c Arethas in*
*h Evodias at Antioch, * Sosipater at Iconium, Brasus* *1. Apocal.*
in Macedonia, Trophimus at Arles, Iason at Tarsus, *f Epist. ad*
Silas at Corinth, Onesiphorus at Colophon, Quartus *Philip. &*
is intimated in Scripture, and so the Roman Martyrol. *Theodoret. ib.*
*Antioch. & Euseb. lib. 3. c. 22. * In Martyrologio Roman:* *e in 1. Tim.*
3.
g Euseb. l. 3.
c. 4. apud Gal-
lias. So Ruf-
sinus reads it,
in Galatia, so
Epist. ad An-

N

at

*lib. 3. cap. 37.

at *Berytus*, *Paul* the Proconsul at *Narbona*, besides many more whole names are not recorded in Scripture, as these forecited are, so many as * *Eusebius* counts impossible to enumerate; it shall therefore suffice to summe up this digest of their acts and ordinations in those generall foldings us'd by the Fathers, saying that the Apostles did ordaine Bishops in all Churches, that the succession of Bishops downe from the Apostles first ordination of them was the only argument to prove their Churches Catholick, and their adversaries who could not doe so, to be Hereticall; This also is very evident, and of great consideration in the first ages while their tradition was cleare, and evident, and not so bepudled as it since hath been with the mixture of Hereticks, striving to spoile that which did so much mischiefe to their causes.

Lib. 3. cap. 3.

Edant origines Ecclesiarum suarum, evolvant ordinem Episcoporum suorum ita per successiones ab initio decurrentem, ut primus ille Episcopus aliquem ex Apostolis, aut Apostolicis viris habuerit authorem & antecessorem, hoc modo Ecclesia Apostolica census suos deferunt, &c. And when *S. Irenæus* had reckoned twelve successions in the Church of *Rome* from the Apostles, *nunc duodecimo loco ab Apostolis Episcopatum habet Eleutherius. Hæc ordinatione (saith he) & successione, & ea quæ est ab Apostolis in Ecclesiâ traditio & veritatis præconiatio pervenit usq; ad nos; & est plenissima hæc ostensio unam & eandem vivatricem fidem esse quæ in Ecclesiâ ab Apostolis usq; nunc sit conservata, & tradita in veritate.* So that
this

this succession of Bishops from the Apostles ordination, must of it selfe be a very certain thing, when the Church made it a maine probation of their faith; for the books of Scripture were not all gathered together, and generally received as yet. Now then, since this was a main pillar of their Christianity, *viz.* a constant reception of it from hand to hand, as being delivered by the *Bishops* in every chaire, till wee come to the very Apostles that did ordain them, this (I say) being their proof, although it could not be more certain then the thing to be proved, which in that case was a Divine revelation, yet to them it was more evident as being matter of fact, and known almost by evidence of sense, and as verily believed by all, as it was by any one, that himselfe was baptized, both relying upon the report of others. * *Radix Christianæ societatis* ^{Epist. 42.} *per sedes Apostolorum, & successiones Episcoporum, certâ per orbem propagatione diffunditur*, saith *S. Austin*. The very root and foundation of Christian communion is spread all over the world, by the successions of Apostles and Bishops.

And is it not now a madnesse to say there was no such thing, no succession of Bishops in the Churches Apostolicall, no ordination of Bishops by the Apostles, and so (as *S. Paul's* phrase is) *overthrow the faith of some*, even of the Primitive Christians, that used this argument as a great weapon of offence against the invasion of hæreticks and factious people? It is enough for us that we can truly say with *S. Irenæus*, *Habemus annumerare epos qui ab A-* ^{ubi supra.}

postolus instituti sunt Episcopi in Ecclesiis usq; ad nos.
 We can reckon those who from the Apostles untill now
 were made Bishops in the Churches; and of this we
 are sure enough, if there be any faith in Christians.

§ 19.
 So that E-
 piscopacy
 is at least an
 Apostoli-
 call ordi-
 nance:

of the same
 authority
 with ma-
 ny other
 points ge-
 nerally be-
 lieved.

THe summe is this. Although we had not proo-
 ved the immediate Divine institution of Epis-
 copall power over Presbyters and the whole flock,
 yet Episcopacy is not lesse then an Apostolicall or-
 dinance, and delivered to us by the same authority
 that the observation of the *Lord's day* is. For, for
 that in the new Testament we have no precept, and
 nothing but the example of the Primitive Disciples
 meeting in their *Synaxes* upon that day, and so al-
 so they did on the saturday in the Jewish Syna-
 gogues, but yet (however that at *Geneva*, they
 were once in meditation to have chang'd it into a
 Thursday meeting to have showne their Christian
 liberty) we should think strangely of those men that
 called the *Sunday-Festivall* lesse then an Apostoli-
 call ordinance, and necessary now to be kept holy
 with such observances as the Church hath appoin-
 ted.

* Baptisme of infants is most certainly a holy
 and charitable ordinance, and of ordinary necessity
 to all that ever cryed, and yet the Church hath
 founded this rite upon the tradition of the Apo-
 stles; and wise men doe easily observe that the *Ana-*
baptists can by the same probability of Scripture
 inforce a necessity of communicating infants upon
 us, as we doe of baptizing infants upon them, if we
 speak

Speak of immediate Divine institution, or of practise Apostolicall recorded in Scripture, and therefore a great Master of *Geneva* in a book he writ against the *Anabaptists*, was forced to fly to Apostolicall traditive ordination, and therefore the institution of Bishops, must be served first, as having fairer plea, and clearer evidence in Scripture, then the baptizing of infants, and yet they that deny this, are by the just *anathema* of the Catholick Church, confidently condemn'd for Hereticks.

* Of the same consideration are diverse other things in Christianity, as the Presbyters consecrating the Eucharist; for if the Apostles in the first institution did represent the whole Church, Clergy and Laity, when Christ said [*Hoc facite, Doe this*] then why may not every Christian man there represented, doe that which the Apostles in the name of all were commanded to doe? If the Apostles did not represent the whole Church, why then doe all communicate? Or what place, or intimation of Christ's saying is there in all the foure Gospels, limiting [*Hoc facite, id est, benedicite*] to the Clergy, and extending [*Hoc facite, id est, accipite & manducate*] to the Laity? This also rests upon the practise Apostolicall and traditive interpretation of H. Church, and yet cannot be denied that so it ought to be, by any man that would not have his Christendome suspected.

* To these I adde the communion of Women, the distinction of bookes Apocryphall, from Canonickall, that such books were written by such Evangelists

gelists, and Apostles, the whole tradition of Scripture it selfe, the Apostles Creed, the feast of *Easter* (which amongst all them that cry up the *Sunday-Festivall* for a *Divine institution*, must needs prevaile as *Caput institutionis*, it being that for which the Sunday is commemorated.) These and divers others of greater consequence (which I dare not specify for feare of being misunderstood) rely but upon equall faith with this of Episcopacy (though I should wave all the arguments for immediate Divine ordinance) and therefore it is but reasonable it should be ranked amongst the *Credenda* of Christianity, which the Church hath entertained upon the confidence of that which we call *the faith of a Christian*, whose Master is truth it selfe.

§ 20.

And was an office of power and great authority,

WHat their power and eminence was, and the appropriates of their office so ordain'd by the Apostles, appears also by the testimonies before alleadged, the expressions whercof runne in these high termes. *Episcopatus administranda Ecclesia in Lino.* *Linus* his Bishoprick was the administration of the whole Church. *Ecclesia praeuise* was said of him and *Clemens*, they were both Prefects of the Church, or *Prelates*, that's the Church-word. *Ordinandis apud Cretam Ecclesiis praeficitur*, so *Titus*, he is set over all the affaires of the new-founded Churches in *Crete*. *In celsiori gradu collocatus*, plac'd in a higher order or degree, so the Bishop of *Alexandria*, chosen *ex Presbyteris*, from amongst the Presbyters. *Supra omnia Episcopalis apicis*

cis sedes, so Philo of that Bishoprick, *The seat of Episcopall height above all things in Christianity.* These are its honours. Its offices these. τὸ λοιπὸν ἐνδεήσας, ἰσχυρίζου ἀνυποτάκτους, καὶ ματαίους &c. To set in order whatsoever he sees wanting, or amisse; to silence vaine prating Preachers, that will not submit to their superiors, to ordaine elders, to rebuke delinquents, to reject Hereticks, viz. from the communion of the faithfull (for else why was the Angell of the Church of *Pergamus* reprov'd for tolerating the *Nicolaitan* hereticks, but that it was in his power to eject them? And the same is the case of the Angell of *Thyatira* in permitting the woman to teach and seduce the people) but to the Bishop was committed the cognisance of causes criminall and particular of Presbyters, (so to *Timothy* in the instance formerly alleadged) nay, πᾶσα ἐκτελέει, all authority, so in the case of *Titus*, and officium regenda Ecclesia, the office of ruling the Church, so to them all whom the Apostles left in the severall Churches respectively which they had new founded. So *Eusebius*. For the Bishop was ἐν πᾶσι καθίσταται, set over ^{Ibi supra. apud Euseb. lib. 3. cap. 23.} all, Clergy and Laity, saith *S. Clement*.

This was given to Bishops by the Apostles themselves, and this was not given to Presbyters, as I have already prooved, and for the present, it will sufficiently appeare in this, that Bishops had power over Presbyters, which cannot be supposed they had over themselves, unlesse they could be their own superiours.

But

§. 21.
Not lessened by the assistance and Council of Presbyters,

BUt a Councell, or Colledge of Presbyters might have jurisdiction over any one, and such Colledges there were in the Apostles times, and they did *in communi Ecclesiam regere*, govern the Church in common with the Bishop, as saith S. Hierom, viz. where there was a Bishop, and where there was none they rul'd without him. * This indeed will call us to a new account, and it relies upon the testimony of S. Hierome which I will set downe here, that wee may leave the sunne without a cloud.

Comment. in
ep. ad Titum.

S. Ierom's words are these.

"*Idem est enim Presbyter quod Episcopus, & antequam Diaboli instinctu studia in religione fierent, & diceretur in populis, ego sum Pauli ego Apollo, ego autem Cepha, communi Presbyterorum consilio Ecclesia guberabatur. Postquam vero unusquisque eos quos baptizabat suos putabat esse, non Christi, in toto orbe decretum est, ut nunc de Presbyteris electus superponeretur ceteris ut Schismatum semina tollerentur.*"

Then he brings some arguments to confirme his saying, and summes them up thus.

"*Hac diximus ut ostenderemus apud veteres eosdem fuisse Presbyteros quos Episcopos, & ut Episcopi noverint se magis consuetudine quam Dominica dispositionis veritate Presbyteris esse majores: & in communi debere Ecclesiam regere, &c.*"

The thing S. Hierome ayines to prove, is the identity of Bishop, Presbyter, and their government of the

the Church in common. * For their identity, It is cleare that S. Hierome does not meane it in respect of order, as if a Bishop and a Presbyter had both one office *per omnia*, one power; for else he contradicts himselfe most apertly, for in his Epistle *ad Evagrium*, *Quid facit* (saith he) *Episcopus exceptâ ordinatione quòd Presbyter non faciat?* A Presbyter may not ordayne, a Bishop does, which is a cleare difference of power, and by S. Hierome is not expressed in matter of fact, but of right [*quod Presbyter non FACIAT*] not [*non facit;*] that a Priest may not, must not doe, that a Bishop does, *viç.* he gives holy orders. * And for matter of fact S. Hierome knew that in his time a Presbyter did not governe in common, but because he conceived it was fit he should be joyn'd in the common regiment and care of the Diocese, therefore he asserted it as much as he could; And therefore if S. Hierome had thought that this difference of the power of ordination, had been onely customary, & by actuall indulgence, or incroachment, or positive constitution, and no matter of primitive and originall right, S. Hierome was not so diffident but out it should, come what would have come. And suppose S. Hierome, in this distinct power of ordination had intended it onely to be a difference in fact, not in right (for so some of late have muttered) then S. Hierome had not said true according to his owne principles, for [*Quid facit Episcopus exceptâ ordinatione quòd Presbyter non faciat?*] had beene quickly answered, if the Question had onely beene *de facto*; For the Bishop governed the

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 Eccles.

the Church alone, and so in Jurisdiction was greater then Presbyters, and this was by custome, and in fact at least, *S. Hierome* saies it, and the Bishop tooke so much power to himselfe, that *de facto* Presbyters were not suffered to doe any thing *sine literis Episcopalis*, without leave of the Bishop, and this *S. Hierome* complain'd of; so that *de facto* the power of ordination was not the onely difference: That then (if *S. Hierome* sayes true) being the onely difference betweene Presbyter and Bishop, must be meant *de jure*, in matter of right, not *humane positive*, for that is coincident with the other power of jurisdiction which *de facto*, and at least by a humane right the Bishop had over Presbyters, but *Divine*, and then this identity of Bishop and Presbyter by *S. Hierom's* owne confession cannot be meant in respect of order, but that Episcopacy is by Divine right a Superiour order to the Presbyterate.

* Adde to this that the arguments which *S. Hierome* uses in this discourse are to prove that *Bishops* are sometimes called *Presbyters*. To this purpose he urges *Act. 20.* And *Philippians 1.* and the Epistles to *Timothy*, and *Titus*, and some others, but all driving to the same issue. To what? Not to prove that Presbyters are sometimes called Presbyters; For who doubts that? But that Bishops are so may be of some consideration and needes a prooffe, and this he Undertooke. Now that they are so called must needes inferre an identity and a disparity in severall respects. An identity, at least of Names, for else it had beene wholly impertinent. A disparity,
 or

or else his arguments were to prove *idem affirmari de eodem*, which were a businesse next to telling pins. Now then this disparity must be either in *order*, or *jurisdiction*. By the former probation it is sure that he meanes the *orders* to be *disparate*; If *jurisdiction* too, I am content, but the former is most certaine, if he stand to his owne principles.

This identity then which *S. Hierome* expresses of Episcopus and Presbyter, must be either in Name or in Jurisdiction. I know not certainly which he meanes, for his arguments conclude *onely for the identity of Names*, but his conclusion is for identity of *jurisdiction*, & *in communi debere Ecclesiam regere*, is the intent of his discourse. If he meanes the first, viz: that of *Names*, it is well enough, there is no harme done, it is *in confesso apud omnes*, but concludes nothing (as I shall shew hereafter) but because he intends (so farre as may be guess'd by his words) a parity and concurrence of jurisdiction, this must be consider'd distinctly.

1. Then; in the first founding of Churches the Apostles did appoint Presbyters, and inferiour Ministers with a power of baptizing, preaching, consecrating and reconciling *in privato foro*, but did not in every Church at the first founding it, constitute a Bishop. This is evident in *Crete*, in *Ephesus*, in *Corinth*, at *Rome*, at *Antioch*.

2. Where no Bishops were constituted there the Apostles kept the *jurisdiction in their owne hands* [There comes upon me (saith *S. Paul*) daily the care or Supravision of all the Churches] Not all absolutely,

2. Theſſ. 3.
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for not all of the Circumciſion, but *all of his charge*, with which he was once charged, and of which he had not exonerated himſelfe by conſtituting Biſhops there, for of theſe there is the ſame reaſon And a. gaine [*If any man obey not our word, ſhā tūc iwiſadā, ſālor onwānāde, ſignifie him to me by an Epistle*] ſo he charges the *Theſſalonians*, and therefore of this Church, *S. Paul* as yet, clearly kept the power in his owne hands. So that the Church was ever in all the parts of it, govern'd by *Episcopall, or Apoſtolicall authority*.

3. For ought appeares in Scripture, the Apoſtles never gave any *externall, or coercitive juridiſtion in publike, and criminall cauſes*, nor yet power to ordaine Rites or Ceremonies, or to inflict cenſures, to a Colledge of meere Presbyters. * The contrary may be greedily ſwallowed, and I know not with how great confidence, and preſcribing prejudice; but there is not in all Scripture any *commiſſion from Chriſt*, any ordinance or warrant from the Apoſtles to any Presbyter, or Colledge of Presbyters without a Biſhop, or expreſſe delegation of *Apoſtolicall authority* (*tanquam vicario ſuo*, as to his ſubſtitute in abſence of the Biſhop or Apoſtle) to inflict any cenſures, or take cogniſance of perſons and cauſes criminall. Presbyters might be *ſurrogati in locum Episcopī abſentis*, but never had any ordinary *jurisdiction* given them by *vertue of their ordination*, or any *commiſſion*, from Chriſt or his Apoſtles.

This we may beſt conſider by induc̄ion of particulars.

1. There

1. There was a *Presbytery* at *Ierusalem*, but they had a *Bishop* alwayes, and the *Colledge of the Apostles* sometimes, therefore whatsoever act they did, it was in conjunction with, and subordination to the *Bishop & Apostles*. Now it cannot be denied both that the *Apostles* were superiour to all the *Presbyters* in *Ierusalem*, and also had power alone to governe the Church. I say they had power to governe alone, for they had the government of the Church alone before they ordain'd the first *Presbyters*, that is before there were any of capacity to joyne with them, they must doe it themselves, and then also they must retaine the same power, for they could not loose it by giving Orders. Now if they had a power of sole jurisdiction, then the *Presbyters* being in some public acts in conjunction with the *Apostles* cannot challenge a right of governing as affixed to their Order, they onely assisting in subordination, and by dependency.

This onely by the way; In *Ierusalem* the *Presbyters* were some thing more then ordinary, and were not meere *Presbyters* in the present, and limited sense of the word. For *Barnabas*, and *Iudas*, and *Silas* [*ἀνδρες ἡγούμενοι* S. *Luke* calls them] were of that *Presbytery*. καὶ αὐτοὶ προεβήσαν ὄντες. They were *Rulers*, and *Prophets*, Chiefe men amongst the Brethren, & yet called *Elders*, or *Presbyters* though of *Apostolicall* power and authority, ἐν τῷ ἐπισκοπικῷ ἔργῳ ἀξίαν οἱ Ἀπίστολοι saith *Oecumenius*. For truth is, in Act. *Apost.* that diverse of them were ordain'd *Apostles* with an *Unlimited jurisdiction*, not fix'd upon any See, that

they also might together with the twelve, *exire in totum mundum*. * So that in this *Presbytery* either they were more then meere *Presbyters*, as *Barnabas*, and *Iudas*, and *Silas*, men of *Apostolicall power*, and they might well be in conjunction with the twelve, and with the *Bishop*, they were of equall power, not by vertue of their *Presbyterate*, but by their *Apostolate*; or if they were but meere *Presbyters*, yet because it is certaine, and proov'd, and confests'd that the *Apostles* had power to governe the Church alone, this their taking meere *Presbyters in partem regiminis*, was a voluntary act, and from this example was derived to other Churches, and then it is most true, that *Presbyteros in communi Ecclesiam regere*, was rather, *consuetudine Ecclesie*, then *dominica dispositionis veritate*, (to use *S. Hierom's* owne expression) for this is more evident then that *Bishops*, doe *eminere ceteris*, by custome rather then *Divine institution*. For if the *Apostles* might rule the Church alone, then that the *Presbyters* were taken into the Number was a voluntary act of the *Apostles*, and although fitting to be retain'd where the same reasons doe remaine, and circumstances concur, yet not necessary because not affixed to their Order; not, *Dominica dispositionis veritate*, and not laudable when those reasons cease, and there is an emergency of contrary causes.

Act. 13.

2. The next *Presbytery* we read of is at *Antioch*, but there we find no acts either of *concurrent*, or *single jurisdiction*, but of *ordination* indeed we doe, and that performed by such men as *S. Paul* was, and
Barnabas,

Barnabas, for they were two of the *Prophets* reckoned in the Church of *Antioch*, but I doe not remember them to be called *Presbyters* in that place, to be sure they were not meere *Presbyters* as we now Understand the word; as I proved formerly.

3. But in the Church of *Ephesus* there was a Colledge of *Presbyters* and they were by the Spirit of God called *Bishops*, and were appointed by him to be Pastors of the Church of God. This must doe it or nothing. *In quo Spiritus S. posuit vos Episcopos*, In whom the *holy Ghost* hath made you *Bishops*. There must lay the exigence of the argument, and if we can find who is meant by [*Vos*] we shall, I hope, gaine the truth. * *S. Paul* sent for the *Presbyters*, or *Elders* to come from *Ephesus* to *Miletus*, and to them he spoke. * * It's true, but that's not all the [*vos*], For there were present at that Sermon, *Sopater*, and *Aristarchus*, and *Secundus*, and *Gaius*, and *Timothy*, and *Tychicus*, and *Trophimus*; And although he sent to *Ephesus* as to the Metropolis, and there many *Elders* were either accidentally, or by ordinary residence, yet those were not all *Elders* of that Church, but of all *Asia*, in the Scripture sense, the lessar *Asia*. For so in the preface of his Sermon *S. Paul* intimates [*ye know that from the first day I came into Asia after what manner I have beene with you at all seasons*] His whole conversation in *Asia* was not confin'd to *Ephesus*, and yet those *Elders* who were present were witnesses of it all, and therefore were of disperfed habitation, and so it is more clearely infer'd from vers. 25. And

Act. 20.

Act. 20. 4.

vers. 18.

now

now behold I know that YE ALL AMONG WHOM I HAVE GONE *preaching the Kingdome of God* &c: It was a travaile to preach to all that were present, and therefore most certainly they were inhabitants of places very considerably distant.

Now upon this ground I will raise these considerations.

1. If there be a confusion of Names in Scripture, particularly of *Episcopus* and *Presbyter*, as it is contended for, on one side, and granted on all sides, then where both the words are used, what shall determine the signification? For whether (co instance in this place) shall *Presbyter* limit *Episcopus*, or *Episcopus* extend *Presbyter*? Why may not *Presbyter* signify one that is verily a *Bishop*, as *Episcopus* signify a meere *Presbyter*? For it is but an ignorant conceit, where ever *Presbyter* is named, to fancy it in the proper and limited sense, and not to doe so with *Episcopus*, and when they are joyned together, rather to believe it in the limited and present sense of *Presbyter*, then in the proper and present sense of *Episcopus*. So that as yet we are indifferent upon the termes. These men sent for from *Ephesus*, are called *πρεσβυτεροι τῆς ἐκκλησίας*, Elders or *Presbyters* of the Church, but at *Miletus*, *Spiritus S. posuit vos Episcopos*, there they are called *Bishops* or *overseers*. So that I may as well say here were properly so called *Bishops*, as another may say, here were meere *Presbyters*. * And least it be objected in prejudice of my affirmative, that they could not be *Bishops*, because they were of *Ephesus*, there never being

ing but one *Bishop in one Church*. I answer, that in the *Apostles* times this was not true. For at *Ierusalem* there were many at the same time that had *Episcopall*, and *Apostolicall* authority, and so at *Antioch*; as at *Ierusalem*, where *James*, and *Judas*, and *Silas*, and the *Apostles*, and *Paul* and *Barnabas* at *Antioch*, and at *Rome*, at the same time *Peter* and *Paul*, and *Linus*, and *Clemens*, but yet but one of them was *first*, and properly the *Bishop of that place*. But 2^{ly} All these were not of *Ephesus*, but the *Elders* of all *Asia*, but some from other countries as appears *vers. 4*. So that although they were all *Bishops*, we might easily find *distinct Dioceses* for them, without incumbering the Church of *Ephesus* with a multiplied incumbency. Thus farre then we are upon even termes, the community of compellations used here, can no more force us to believe them all to be meeie *Presbyters*, then *Bishops* in the proper sense.

2. It is very certain that they were not all meer *Presbyters* at his fare-well Sermon, for *S. Timothy* was there, and I proved him to be a *Bishop* by abundant testimony, and many of those which are reckoned *v. 4*. were companions of the *Apostle* in his journey, and imployed in mission *Apostolicall* for the founding of Churches, and particularly, *Sosipater* was there, and he was *Bishop of Icondum*, and *Tychicus* of *Chalcedon in Bythinia*, as *Dorotheus* and *Eusebius* witnesse, and *Trophimus* of *Arles in France*, for so is witnessed by the suffragans of that province in their Epistle to *S. Leo*. But without all doubt here were *Bishops* present as well as *Presbyters*,
P
ters,

ters, for besides the premises we have a witness beyond exception, the ancient *S. Irenæus*, *In Mileto enim convocatis Episcopis, & Presbyteris qui erant ab Epheso, & à reliquis proximis civitatibus, quoniam ipse festinavit Hierosolymus Pentecosten agere, &c.* *S. Paul* making hast to keep his Pentecost at *Ierusalem*, at *Miletus*, did call together the *Bishops* and *Presbyters*, from *Ephesus*, and the neighbouring Cities. * Now to all these in conjunction *S. Paul* spoke, and to these indeed the Holy Ghost had credited his Church to be fed, and taught with *Pastor* all supervision, but in the mean while here is no commission of power, or jurisdiction to *Presbyters* distinctly, nor supposition of any such præexistent power.

3. All that *S. Paul* said in this narration, was spoken in the presence of them all, but not to them all. For that of *v. 18*. [*ye know how I have been with you in Asia in all seasons,*] that indeed was spoke to all the *Presbyters* that came from *Ephesus* and the voisinage, viz. in a collective sense, not in a distributive, for each of them was not in all the circuit of his *Asian* travailles; but this was not spoken to *Sopater* the *Beraan*, or to *Aristarchus* the *Thessalonian*, but to *Tychicus*, and *Trophimus*, who were *Asians* it might be addressed. And for that of *v. 25*. [*ye all among whom I have gone preaching shall see my face no more,*] this was directed only to the *Asians*, for he was never more to come thither; but *Timothy* to be sure, saw him afterwards, for *S. Paul* sent for him, a litle before his death, to *Rome*, and it will not be

be supposed he neglected to attend him. So that if there were a conjunction of *Bishops*, and *Presbyters* at this meeting, as most certainly there was, and of *Evangelists*, and *Apostolicall men* besides, how shall it be known, or indeed with any probability suspected that, that clause of *vers. 28. Spiritus S. posuit vos Episcopos pascere Ecclesiam Dei*, does belong to the *Ephesine Presbyters*, and not particularly to *Timothy*, who was now actually *Bishop of Ephesus*, and to *Gaius*, and to the other *Apostolicall men* who had at least *Episcopall authority*, that is, power of founding, and ordering Churches without a fixt and limited jurisdiction?

4. Either in this place is no jurisdiction at all intimated *de antiquo*, or concredited *de novo*, or if there be, it is in the word *innoxius*, and *inpalium* v. 28. *Bishops*, and *Feeders*; and then it belongs either to the *Bishops* alone, or to the *Presbyters* in conjunction with, and subordination to the *Bishops*, for to the meer *Presbyters* it cannot be proved to appertain, by any intimation of that place.

5. How and if these *Presbyters*, which came from *Ephesus* and the other parts of *Asia* were made *Bishops* at *Miletus*? Then also this way all difficulty will be removed. And that so it was is more then probable; for to be sure, *Timothy* was now entring, and fixing upon his See; and it was consonant to the practise of the *Apostles*, and the exigence of the thing it selfe, when they were to leave a Church to fixe a *Bishop* in it; for why else was a *Bishop* fixt in *Ierusalem*, so long before in other Churches, but because

the *Apostles* were to be scattered from thence, and there the first bloody field of *Martyrdome* was to be fought. And the case was equall here, for *S. Paul* was never to see the Churches of *Asia* any more, and he foresaw that ravening wolves would enter into the folds, and he had actually plac'd a *Bishop* in *Ephesus*, and it is unimaginable, that he would not make equall provision for other Churches, there being the same necessity from the same danger, in them all, and either *S. Paul* did it now, or never; and that about this time the other sixe *Asian* Churches had *Angels*, or *Bishops* set in their candlesticks, is plain, for there had been a succession in the Church of *Pergamus*, *Antipas* was dead, and *S. Timothy* had late in *Ephesus*, and *S. Polycarpe* at *Smjrna* many years before *S. John* writ his *Revelation*.

6. Lastly, that no jurisdiction was in the *Ephesine Presbyters*, except a delegate, and subordinate, appears beyond all exception, by *S. Pauls* first epistle to *Timothy*, establishing in the person of *Timothy* power of coercitive jurisdiction over *Presbyters*, and ordination in him alone, without the conjunction of any in commission with him, for ought appears either there, or else-where.

* 4. The same also in the case of the *Cretan Presbyters* is cleare. For what power had they of Jurisdiction? For that is it, we now speak of. If they had none before *S. Titus* came; we are well enough at *Crete*. If they had, why did *S. Paul* take it from them to invest *Titus* with it? Or if he did not, to what purpose did he send *Titus* with all those powers

powers before mentioned? For either the *Presbyters of Crete* had jurisdiction in causes criminalle-quall to *Titus* after his coming, or they had nor. If they had, then what did *Titus* doe there? If they had nor, then either they had no jurisdiction at all, or whatsoever it was, it was in subordination to him, they were his inferiours, and he their ordinary Judge and Governour.

5. One thing more before this be left, must be considered concerning the Church of Corinth, for there was power of excommunication in the *Presbytery* when they had no Bishop, for they had none of diverse yeares after the founding of the Church, and yet *S. Paul* reproveth them for not ejecting the incestuous person out of the Church.

* This is it that I said before, that the Apostles kept the jurisdiction in their hands where they had founded a Church, and placed no Bishop. For in this case of the Corinthian incest the Apostle did make himselfe the sole Iudge. [*For I verily as* 1. Cor. 5. 3. *absent in body but present in spirit have judged already*] and then secondly, *S. Paul* gives the Church of Corinth commission and substitution to proceed in this cause [*In the name of our Lord Iesus Christ, when ye are gathered together, and MY SPIRIT, that is, My power, My authority,* for so he explains himselfe, *MY SPIRIT, WITH THE POWER OF OUR LORD IESVS CHRIST, to deliver him over to Satan.* And 3. As all this power is delegate, so it is but declarative in the *Corinthians*, for *S. Paul* had given sentence before, and they of Corinth

were to publish it. 4. This was a commission given to the whole assembly, and no more concerns the *Presbyters*, then the people, and so some have contended; but so it is, but will serve neither of their turnes, neither for an *independant Presbytery*, nor a *conjunctive popularity*. As for S. Paul's reprooving them for not inflicting censures on the peccant, I have often heard it confidently averred, but never could see ground for it. The suspicion of it is v. 2. [*And ye are puffed up, and have not rather mourned, that he that hath done this deed might be TAKEN AWAY FROM AMONG YOU*] Taken away. But by whom? That's the Question. Not by them, to be sure. For TAKEN AWAY FROM YOU, implies that it is by the power of another, not by their act, for no man can take away any thing from himselfe. He may put it away, not take it, the expression had been very imperfect if this had been his meaning. * Well then: In all these instances, viz. of *Ierusalem, Antioch, Ephesus, Crete, and Corinth* (and these are all I can find in Scripture of any consideration in the present Question) all the jurisdiction was originally in the *Apostles* while there was no *Bishop*, or in the *Bishop* when there was any; And yet that the *Presbyters* were joyned in the ordering Church affaires I will not deny, to wit, by voluntary assuming them, *in partem sollicitudinis*, and by delegation of power *Apostolicall*, or *Episcopall*, and by way of assistance in acts deliberative, and consiliary, though I find this no where specified but in the Church of *Ierusalem*, where I proved that the Elders

ders were men of more power then meere *Presbyters*, men of *Apostolicall* authority. But here lies the issue, and straine of the Question.

Presbyters had no jurisdiction in causes criminal, and pertaining to the publick regiment of the Church, by vertue of their order, or without particular substitution, and delegation. For there is not in all Scripture any commission given by *Christ* to meere *Presbyters*, no divine institution of any power of regiment in the *Presbytery*; no constitution *Apostolicall*, that meere *Presbyters* should either alone, or in conjunction with the *Bishop* governe the Church; no example in all Scripture of any censure inflicted by any meere *Presbyters*, either upon Clergy or Laity; no specification of any power that they had so to doe; but to Churches where Colledges of *Presbyters* were resident, Bishops were sent by *Apostolicall ordination*; not only with power of imposition of hands, but of excommunication, of taking cognisance even of causes, and actions of *Presbyters* themselves, as to *Titus*, and *Timothy*, the Angell of the Church of *Ephesus*; and there is also example of delegation of power of censures from the *Apostle* to a Church where many *Presbyters* were fix't, as in the case of the *Corinthian* delinquent before specified, which delegation was needlesse, if coercitive jurisdiction by censures had been by divine right in a *Presbyter*, or a whole Colledge of them.

Now then, returne we to the consideration of *S. Hieromes* saying: The Church was governed (saith he)

he) *communi Presbyterorum consilio*, by the common Counsell of the Presbyters. But,

1. *Quo jure* was this? That the Bishops were Superiour to those which were then called *Presbyters*, by *custome* rather than *Divine disposition* S. Hierome affirms; but that *Presbyters* were joyned with the *Apostles* and *Bishops* at first, by what right was that? Was not that also by *custome* and condescension rather than by *Divine disposition*? S. Hierome does not say but it was. For he speaks onely of matter of fact, not of right. It might have been otherwise, though *defacto* it was so in some places.

* 2. [*Communi Presbyterorum consilio*] is true in the Church of *Ierusalem*, where the Elders were *Apostolicall* men, and had *Episcopall authority* and something superadded, as *Barnabas*, and *Iudas* and *Silas*, for they had the authority and power of *Bishops*, and an unlimited *Diocesse* besides, though afterwards *Silas* was fixt upon the See of *Corinth*. But yet even at *Ierusalem* they actually had a *Bishop*, who was in that place superiour to them in jurisdiction, and therefore does clearly evince, that the common-counsell of *Presbyters* is no argument against the superiority of a *Bishop* over them.

* 3. [*Communi Presbyterorum consilio*] is also true, because the *Apostles* call'd themselves *Presbyters*, as S. Peter, and S. John, in their Epistles. Now at the first, many *Prophets*, many *Elders* (for the words are sometimes us'd in common) were for a while resident in particular Churches, and did governe in common; As at *Antioch* were *Barnabas*,
and

and Simeon, and Lucius, and Manaën, and Paul. *Communi horum Presbyterorum consilio* the Church of Antioch for a time was governed; for all these were Presbyters, in the sense that S. Peter and S. John were, and the Elders of the Church of Jerusalem.

* 4. Suppose this had been true in the sense that any body please to imagine, yet this not being by any divine ordinance, that Presbyters should by their Counsell assist in externall regiment of the Church, neither by any intimation of Scripture, nor by affirmation of S. Hierome, it is sufficient to stifle this by that saying of S. Ambrose, *Postquam omnibus locis Ecclesia sunt constituta, & officia ordinata, aliter composita res est quam caperat.* in Ephes. 4. It might be so at first *de facto*, and yet no need to be so neither then, nor after. For at first Ephesus had no Bishop of it's owne, nor Crete, and there was no need, for S. Paul had the supervision of them, and S. John, and other of the Apostles, but yet afterwards S. Paul did send Bishops thither; for when themselves were to goe away, the power must be concredited to another; And if they in their absence before the constituting of a Bishop had intrusted the care of the Church with Presbyters, yet it was but in dependence on the Apostles, and by substitution, not by any ordinary power, and it ceased at the presence or command of the Apostle, or the sending of a Bishop to reside. *οι πρεσβυτεροι ποιμάνουσι τὸ ἐν ὑμῖν ποιμνιον.* Epist. ad Antioch. *αἰαδιζῃ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν καὶ μέλλομεν ἀρχῆν ὑμῶν.* So S. Ignatius. So S. Ignatius being absent from his Church upon a business of

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being

being persecuted, he writ to his *Presbyters*, Doe you feed the flock amongst you, till God shall shew you who shall be your Ruler, *viz.* My Successor. No longer. Your commission expires when a *Bishop* comes.

* 5. To the conclusion of *S. Hieromes* discourse, *viz.* That *Bishops* are not greater then *Presbyters* by the truth of divine disposition; I answer, that this is true in this sense, *Bishops* are not by Divine disposition greater then all those which in Scripture are called *Presbyters*, such as were the Elders in the Councell at *Ierusalem*, such as were they of *Antioch*, such as *S. Peter* and *S. Iohn*, *συνοδικοι*, all, and yet all of them were not *Bishops* in the present sense, that is of a fixt and particular Diocese, and Iurisdiction.

* 2ly *S. Hieromes* meaning is also true in this sense, [*Bishops by the truth of the Lords disposition are not greater then Presbyters*], *viz. quoad exercitium actus*, that is, they are not tyed to exercise jurisdiction solely in their owne persons, but may *asciscere sibi Presbyteros in commune consilium*, they may delegate jurisdiction to the *Presbyters*; and that they did not so, but kept the exercise of it only in their owne hands in *S. Hieromes* time, this is it, which he saith is rather by custome, then by Divine dispensation, for it was otherwise at first, *viz. de facto*, and might be so still, there being no law of God against the delegation of power Episcopall. * As for the last words in the objection, [*Et in communi debere Ecclesiam regere*], it is an *assumentum* of *S. Hieromes* owne, for all his former discourse was of the identity
of

of Names, and common regiment *de facto*, not *de jure*, and from a *fact* to conclude with a *Debere*, is a *Non sequitur*, unless this *Debere* be understood according to the exigence of the former arguments, that is, **THEY OUGHT**, not by *Gods law*, but in imitation of the practise *Apostolicall*, to wit, when things are as they werethen, when the Presbyters are such as then they were; **THEY OUGHT**, for many considerations, and in Great cases, not by the necessity of a Divine precept.

* And indeed to doe him right he so explaines himselfe, [*Et in communi debere Ecclesiam regere, imitantes Moysen qui cum haberet in potestate solus praeesse populo Israel, septuaginta elegit, cum quibus populum judicaret.*] The Presbyters ought to ludge in common with the Bishop, for the Bishops ought to imitate *Moses*, who might have rul'd alone, yet was content to take others to him, and himselfe only to rule in chiefe. Thus *S. Hierome* would have the Bishops doe, but then he acknowledges the right of sole jurisdiction to be in them, and therefore though his Councell perhaps might be good then, yet it is necessary at no time, and was not followed then, and to be sure is needlesse now. * For the arguments which *S. Hierome* ulesto prove this his intention what ever it is, I have and shall else where produce, for they yeeld many other considerations then this collection of *S. Hierome*, and prove nothing lesse then the equality of the offices of *Episco-*
a In 1. Tim. 3.
ὅτι ἡ πᾶσι τοῖς
μύστον ἢ γὰρ ἢ
αὐτοὶ διδασ-
καλῶν οἱ οὖν
ἀναδιδυμῶν,
ἢ ὁ ὁρισμὸς
τῆς ἑκκλησίας.
τίτω γὰρ χειρο-
τονῶν μόνον
αὐτοὺς ἀναβιβά-
σαν, ἢ τὸν μόνον
οὐ δύναται πᾶσι
ομαίνει τὴν
πρωτοσύνην.
Homil. 11.

cy and *Presbyterate*. The same thing is *per omnia* respondont to the paralell place of *S. Chrysostome*,

It is needlesse to repeat either the objection, or answer.

* But however this saying of S. *Hierome*, and the paralell of S. *Chrysostome* is but like an argument against an Evident truth, which comes forth upon a desperate service, and they are sure to be kill'd by the adverse party, or to runne upon their owne Swords; For either they are to be understood in the senses above explicated, and then they are impertinent, or else they contradiet evidence of Scripture and Catholike antiquity, and so are false, and dye within their owne trenches.

I end this argument of tradition Apostolicall with that saying of S. *Hierome* in the same place: *Postquam Vnusquisq. eos quos baptizabat suos putabat esse, non Christi, & diceretur in populis, Ego sum Pauli, Ego Apollo, Ego autem Cepha, in toto orbe decretum est ut Vnus de Presbyteris electus superponeretur ceteris, ut schismatum semina tollerentur.* That is, a publike decree issued out in the Apostles times, that in all Churches one should be chosen out of the Clergy, and set over them, viz. to rule and governe the flock committed to his charge. This I say was in the Apostles times, even upon the occasion of the *Corinthian* schisme, for then they said I am of *Paul*, and I of *Apollo*, and then it was, that he that baptized any Catechumens, tooke them for his owne not as *Christs* disciples. So that it was, *tempore Apostolorum*, that this decree was made, for in the time of the Apostles S. *James*, and S. *Marke*, and S. *Timothy*, and S. *Titus* were made Bishops by S. *Hieromes* expresse attestation;

attestation; It was also [*toto orbe decretum*] so that if it had not beene proved to have beene an *immediate Divine institution*, yet it could not have gone much lesse, it being, as I have proved, and as *S. Hierome* acknowledges *CATHOLIKE*, and *APOSTOLICK*. *



BEE ye followers of me as I am of Christ, is an *Apostolicall* precept. We have seene how the Apostles have followed Christ, how their tradition is consequent of Divine institution; Next let us see, how the Church hath followed the Apostles, as the Apostles have followed Christ. *CATHOLIKE PRACTISE* is the next Basis of the power and order of *Episcopacy*. And this shall be *in subsidium* to them also that call for reduction of the state Episcopall to a primitive consistence, and for the confirmation of all those pious sonnes of Holy Church, who have a venerable estimate of the publike and authoriz'd facts of *Catholic Christendome*.

§ 22.

And all this hath beene the faith & practise of Christendome.

Q3

* For

* For Consider we, Is it imaginable, that all the world should immediately after the death of the Apostles conspire together to seek themselves, and not, *eaqua sunt Iesu Christi*; to erect a government of their owne devising, not ordain'd by Christ, nor delivered by his *Apostles*, and to relinquish a *Divine foundation*, and the *Apostolicall* superstructure, which if it was at all, was a part of our Masters will, which whosoever knew, and observed not, was to be beaten with many stripes? Is it imaginable, that those gallant men who could not be brought off from the prescriptions of Gentilisme to the seeming impossibilities of Christianity, without evidence of Miracle, and clarity of Demonstration upon agreed principles, should all upon their first adhesion to Christianity, make an Universal dereliction of so considerable a part of their Masters will, and leave Gentilisme to destroy Christianity, for he that erects another Oeconomy then what the Master of the family hath ordain'd, destroyes all those relations of mutuall dependance which Christ hath made for the coadunation of all the parts of it, and so destroyes it in the formality of a Christian congregation or family?

* Is it imaginable, that all those glorious Martyrs, that were so curious observers of Divine Sanctions, and Canons Apostolicall, that so long as that ordinance of the Apostles concerning abstinence from bloud was of force, they would rather dye then eat a strangled hen, or a pudding, (for so Eusebius relates of the Christians in the particular instance

stance of *Biblis* and *Blandina*) that they would be so sedulous in the contemning the *government* that *Christ* left for his family, and erect *another*?

* To what purpose were all their watchings, their banishments, their fears, their fastings, their penances and formidable austerities, and finally their so frequent *Martyrdomes*, of what excellency or availe, if after all, they should be hurried out of this world and all their fortunes and possessions, by untimely, by disgracefull, by dolourous deaths, to be set before a tribunall to give account of their universall neglect, and contemning of *Christs* last testament, in so great an affaire, as the whole government of his Church?

* If all *Christendome* should be guilty of so open, so united a defiance against their *Master*, by what argument, or confidence can any misbeliever be perswaded to *Christianity*, which in all its members for so many ages together is so unlike its first institution, as in its most publike affaire, and for matter of order of the most generall concernement, is so contrary to the first birth?

* Where are the promises of *Christ's* perpetual assistance, of the impregnable permanence of the Church against the gates of Hell, of the Spirit of truth to lead it into all truth, if she be guilty of so grand an errour, as to erect a throne where *Christ* had made all levell, or appointed others to sit in it, then whom he suffers. * Either *Christ* hath left no government, or most certainly the Church hath retain'd that *Government* whatsoever it is, for the
con-

contradictory to these would either make Christ improvident, or the *Catholick Church* extreamely negligent (to say no worse) and incurious of her *depositum*. * But upon the confidence of all * *Christendome* (if there were no more in it) I * suppose we may fairely venture. *Sit anima mea cum Christianis.*

§ 23.

Who first distinguished Names used before in common.

THE first thing done in *Christendome*, upon the death of the *Apostles* in this matter of *Episcopacy*, is the distinguishing of Names, which before were common. For in holy *Scripture* all the names of *Clericall offices* were given to the superiour order, and particularly all offices, and parts, and persons design'd in any imployment of the *sacred Priesthood*, were signified by *Presbyter* and *Presbyterium*. And therefore least the confusion of Names might perfwade an identity and indistinction of office, the wisdom of H. Church found it necessary to distinguish and separate orders, and offices by distinct and proper appellations. [For the *Apostles* did know by our Lord *Iesus Christ* that contentions would arise, ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, about the name of *Episcopacy*,] saith S. *Clement*, and so it did in the Church of *Corinth*, as soon as their *Apostle* had expired his last breath. But so it was.

Epist. ad Corinth.

1. The *Apostles*, which I have proved to be the supream ordinary office in the Church, and to be succeeded in, we called in *Scripture* ἐπισβύτεροι, *Elders* or *Presbyters*, ἐπισβύτερος τις ἐν ὑμῖν μεγαλὺ ὁ συμπροσβύτερος, saith S. *Peter the Apostle*, the *Elders*,

1. Pet. 5.1.

or

or Presbyters that are among you, I also who am an Elder, or Presbyter doe intreat. Such Elders S. Peter spoke to, as he was himselfe, to wit, those to whom the regiment of the Church was committed, the Bishops of Asia, Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, and Bithynia, that is to Timothy, to Titus, to Tychicus, to Sosipater, to the Angells of the Asian Churches, and all others whom himselfe in the next words points out by the description of their office, ποιμένας τῆ ἐκκλησίας τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἱποκρίτας, &c. Feed the flock of God as Bishops, or being Bishops and overseers over it; And that to rulers he then spake, is evident by his μὴ κατακυριεύετε, for it was impertinent to have warned them of tyranny, that had no rule at all. * The meere Presbyters, I deny not, but are included in this admonition; for as their office is involved in the Bishops office, the Bishop being Bishop and Presbyter too, so is his duty also in the Bishops; so that, *pro rata* the Presbyter knowes what lies on him by proportion and intuition to the Bishops admonition. But againe. * ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἐκκλησίᾳ κυλεῖ, saith S. Iohn the Apostle; and, ὁ πρεσβύτερος γὰρ τῆ ἀγαπῆς. The Presbyter to Gajus; the Presbyter to the elect Lady.

2. * If Apostles be called Presbyters, no harme though Bishops be called so too, for Apostles, and Bishops are all one in ordinary office as I have proved formerly. Thus are those Apostolicall men in the Colledge at Ierusalem called Presbyters, whom yet the Holy Ghost calleth, ἀδελφοὶ ἡγούμενοι, principall men, ruling men, and ἐκκλησίᾳ κυλεύοντες, the Presbyters that rule well. By Presbyters are meant

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Bishops

Bishops, to whom only according to the intention, and exigence of *Divine institution* the *Apostle* had concredited the Church of *Ephesus*, and the neighbouring Citties, *ut solus quisq; Episcopus præsit omnibus*, as appears in the former discourse. The same also is *Acts 20*. The *Holy Ghost* hath made you *Bishops*, and yet the same men are called *πρεσβύτεροι τῆς ἐκκλησίας*. The one place expounds the other, for they are both *ad idem*, and speake of Elders of the same Church.

* 3. Although *Bishops* be called *Presbyters*, yet even in Scripture names are so distinguished, that meer *Presbyters* are never called *Bishops*, unlesse it be in conjunction with *Bishops*, and then in the Generall addresse, which, in all faire deportments, is made to the more eminent, sometimes *Presbyters* are, or may be comprehended. This observation if it prove true, will clearely show, that the confusion of names of *Episcopus*, and *Presbyter*, such as it is in Scripture, is of no pretence by any intimation of Scripture, for the indistinction of offices, for even the names in Scripture it selfe are so distinguished, that a meere *Presbyter* alone is never called a *Bishop*, but a *Bishop* an *Apostle* is often called a *Presbyter*, as in the instances above. But we will consider those places of Scripture, which use to be pretended in those impertinent arguings from the identity of Name, to confusion of things, and shew that they neither interfere upon the maine Question, nor this observation, * *Paul and Timotheus to all the saints which are in Christ Iesus which are at Philippi, with*
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the Bishops and Deacons. I am willing to choose this instance, because the place is of much consideration in the whole Question, and I shall take this occasion to clear it from prejudice and disadvantage.

* By *Bishops* are here meant *Presbyters*, because

* many *Bishops* in a Church could not be, and yet

* *S. Paul* speaks plurally of the *Bishops* of the

* Church of *Philippi*, and therefore must mean

* meere *Presbyters*, * so it is pretended.

1. Then, By [*Bishops*] are, or may be meant the whole superior order of the clergy, *Bishops* and *Priests*, and that he speaks plurally, he, may besides the *Bishops* in the Church, comprehend under their name the *Presbyters* too; for why may not the name be comprehended as well as the office, and order, the inferiour under the superiour, the lesser within the greater; for since the order of *Presbyters* is involved in the *Bishops* order, and is not only inclusively in it, but derivative from it; the same name may comprehend both persons, because it does comprehend the distinct offices and orders of them both. And in this sense it is (if it be at all) that *Presbyters* are sometimes in Scripture called *Bishops*.

* 2. Why may not [*Bishops*] be understood properly; For there is no necessity of admitting that there were any meere *Presbyters* at all at the first founding of this Church, It can neither be proved from Scripture, nor antiquity, if it were denied: For indeed a *Bishop* or a company of *Episco-*

pall men as there were at *Antioch*, might doe all that *Presbyters* could, and much more. And considering that there are some necessities of a Church which a *Presbyter* cannot supply, and a *Bishop* can, it is more imaginable that there was no *Presbyter*, then that there was no *Bishop*. And certainly it is most unlikely, that what is not expressed, to wit, *Presbyters* should be onely meant, and that which is expressed should not be at all intended.

Τὸ αὐτὸ; μὴ αὖτε πάλιν πολλοὶ Ἐπισκοποι ἦσαν; ἡ δὲ ἀπάντησις. *Chryf.*
in 1. *Phil.*

* 3. [*With the Bishops*] may be understood in the proper sense, and yet no more *Bishops* in one *Diocese* then one, of a fixt residence; for in that sense is *S. Chrysostome* and the fathers to be understood in their commentaries on this place, affirming that one Church could have but one *Bishop*; but then take this along, that it was not then unusuall in such great Churches, to have many men who were temporary residentiaries, but of an *Apostolicall* and *Episcopall* authority, as in the Churches of *Ierusalem*, *Rome*, *Antioch*, there was as I have proved in the premises. Nay in *Philippi* it selfe, If I mistake not, an instance may be given, full, and home to this purpose. *Salutant te Episcopi Onesimus, Bitus, Demas, Polybius, & omnes qui sunt Philippis in Christo, unde & hac vobis Scripsi*, saith *Ignatius* in his Epistle to *Hero* his Deacon. So that many *Bishops* (we see) might be at *Philippi*, and many were actually there long after *S. Paul's* dictate of the Epistle.

* 4. Why may not [*Bishops*] be meant in the proper sense? Because there could not be more *Bishops* then one, in a *Diocese*. Nor By what law? It
by

by a constitution of the Church after the *Apostles* times, that hinders not, but it might be otherwise in the *Apostles* times. If by a Law in the *Apostles* times, then we have obtained the main question by the shift, and the *Apostles* did ordain that there should be one, and but one *Bishop* in a Church, although it is evident they appointed many *Presbyters*. And then let this objection be admitted how it will, and doe its worst, we are safe enough.

* 5. [*With the Bishops*] may be taken distributively, for *Philippi* was a *Metropolis*, and had diverse *Bishopricks* under it, and *S. Paul* writing to the Church of *Philippi*, wrote also to all the daughter Churches within its circuit, and therefore might well salute many *Bishops*, though writing to one *Metropolis*, and this is the more probable, if the reading of this place be accepted according to *Oecumenius*, for he reads it not *Cum imbratoris*, but *conveniens*, *Coepiscopis*, & *Diaconis*, *Paul* and *Timothy* to the *Saints at Philippi*, and to our fellow *Bishops*.

* 6. *S. Ambrose* referres this clause of [*Cum Episcopis, & Diaconis*,] to *S. Paul* and *S. Timothy*, in *In 1, Philip.* intimating that the benediction, and salutation was sent to the *Saints at Philippi* from *S. Paul* and *S. Timothy* with the *Bishops* and *Deacons*, so that the reading must be thus; *Paul, and Timothy with the Bishops and Deacons, to all the Saints at Philippi* &c. *Cum Episcopis & Diaconis, hoc est, cum Paulo, & Timotheo, qui utiq, Episcopi erant, simul & significavit Diaconos qui ministrabant ei. Ad plebem enim scribit. Nam si Episcopis scriberet, & Diaconis,*

ad personas eorum scriberet, & loci ipsius Episcopo scribendum erat, non duobus, vel tribus, sicut & ad Titum & Timotheum.

Page 54.

* 7. The like expression to this is in the Epistle of S. Clement to the *Corinthians*, which may give another light to this, speaking of the *Apostles*, ἀποστόλοις καὶ ἐπίσκοποις καὶ διακόνου τοῦ κυρίου. They delivered their first fruits to the Bishops and Deacons. Bishops here indeed may be taken distributively, and so will not inferre that many Bishops were collectively in any one Church, but yet this gives intimation for another exposition of this clause to the *Philippians*. For here either Presbyters are meant by *diaconus*, Ministers, or else Presbyters are not taken care of in the Ecclesiasticall provision, which no man imagines, of what interest soever he be, it followes then that [Bishops and Deacons] are no more but *Majores*, and *Minores Sacerdotes* in both places; for as *Presbyter*, and *Episcopus* were confounded, so also *Presbyter* and *Diaconus*; And I thinke it will easily be shewen in Scripture, that the word [Diaconus,] is given oftner to *Apostles*, and Bishops, and Presbyters, then to those ministers which now by way of appropriation we call Deacons. But of this anon. Now againe to the main observation.

1. Timoth. 3.

* Thus also it was in the Church of *Ephesus*, for S. Paul writing to their Bishop, and giving order for the constitution and deportment of the Church orders and officers, gives directions first for Bishops, then for Deacons. Where are the Presbyters in the interim?

interim? Either they must be comprehended in *Bishops* or in *Deacons*. They may as well be in one as the other; for [*Diaconus*] is not in Scripture any more appropriated to the inferiour Clergy, then *Episcopus* to the Superiour, nor so much neither. For *Episcopus* was never us'd in the *new Testament* for any, but such, as had the care, regiment, and supra-vision of a Church, but *Diaconus* was used generally for all Ministers.

But yet supposing that *Presbyters* were included under the word *Episcopus*, yet it is not because the offices and orders are one, but because that the order of a *Presbyter* is comprehended within the dignity of a *Bishop*. And then indeed the compellation is of the more principall, and the *Presbyter* is also comprehended, for his conjunction, and involution in the Superiour, which was the principall observation here intended. *Nam in Episcopo omnes ordines sunt, quia primus Sacerdos est, hoc est, Princeps est Sacerdotum, & Propheta & Evangelista, & cetera adimplenda officia Ecclesie in Ministerio Fidelium.*

saith S. Ambrose. * So that if in the description of the qualifications of a *Bishop*, he intends to qualifie *Presbyters* also, then it is Principally intended for a *Bishop*, and of the *Presbyters* only by way of subordination and comprehension. This only by the way, because this place is also abused to other issues; To be sure, it is but a vaine dreame that because *Presbyter* is not nam'd, that therefore it is all one with a *Bishop*, when as it may be comprehended under *Bishop* as a part in the whole, or the inferiour, within the superiour,

in Ephes. 4.
* Idem ait S.
Dionysius Ec-
clesiasticus hierarch.
cap. 5. ἵνα τῷ
ἐπισκοπῶντι τῷ
ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐν
τοῦτον χρόνον
ἵνα ὁ ἐπισκοπῶν
ἵνα, τῷ ἐκκλησίᾳ
ὅτι τῷ ἐκκλησίᾳ
ἵνα τῷ ἐκκλησίᾳ
ἵνα τῷ ἐκκλησίᾳ
ἵνα τῷ ἐκκλησίᾳ
ἵνα τῷ ἐκκλησίᾳ

superiour, (the office of a *Bishop* having in it the office of a *Presbyter* and something more) or else it may be as well intended in the word [*Deacons*,] and rather then the word [*Bishop*] 1. Because [*Bishop*] is spoken of in the singular number [*Deacons*] in the Plurall , and so liker to comprehend the multitude of *Presbyters*. 2. *Presbyters*, or else *Bishops*, and therefore much more *Presbyters* , are called by S. Paul , *Διδασκων*, *Ministers*, *Deacons* is the word, *Διακονοι* *δι* *τῃ* *ἰουδαιᾳ*, *Deacons* by whose *Ministration* yee beleived; and 3. By the same argument *Deacons* may be as well one with the *Bishop* too , for in the Epistle to *Titus* , S. Paul describes the office of a *Bishop*, and sayes not a word more either of *Presbyter* or *Deacons* office; and why I pray, may not the office of *Presbyters* in the Epistle to *Timothy* be omitted , as well as *Presbyters* , and *Deacons* too in that to *Titus* ? or else why may not *Deacons* be confounded, and be all one with *Bishop*, as well as *Presbyter* ? It will, it must be so, if this argument were any thing else but an aëry and impertinent nothing.

After all this yet , it cannot be shown in Scripture that any one single, and meere *Presbyter* is called a *Bishop* , but may be often found that a *Bishop*, nay an *Apostle* is called a *Presbyter* , as in the instances above , and therefore since this communication of Names is onely in descension , by reason of the involution, or comprehension of *Presbyter* within (*Episcopus*) , but never in ascension, that is, an *Apostle*, or a *Bishop* , is oftencalled *Presbyter*, and *Deacon*, and *Prophet*, and *Pastor*, and *Doctor*, but never

retrò,

retrò, that a meere *Deacon* or a meere *Presbyter*, should be called either *Bishop*, or *Apostle*, it can never be brought either to depreſſe the order of *Bishops* below their throne, or erect meere *Presbyters* above their ſtalls in the Quire. For we may as well confound *Apostle*, and *Deacon*, and with clearer probability, then *Episcopus*, and *Presbyter*. For *Apostles*, and *Bishops*, are in Scripture often called *Deacons*. I gave one inſtance of this before, but there are very many. *ἐς διακονίαν ταύτην* was ſaid of *S. Matthias* when he ſucceded *Judas* in the *Apoſtolate*. *καὶ ὁν διάκονος*, ſaid *S. Paul* to *Timothy* *Bishop of Ephesus*. *S. Paul* is called *διάκονος τῆς κωνσταντινουπόλεως*. ^{2 Cor. 6. 4.}
A Deacon of the New Teſtament, and *διάκονος δι' ὅν*. ^{1. Cor. 3. 5.}
ἐπεδούκει, is ſaid of the firſt founders of the *Corinthian Church*; *Deacons by whom ye beleived*. *Paul* and *Apollos* were the men. It is the obſervation of *S. Chryſoſtome*, *καὶ διάκονος, ἐπίσκοπος ἐλέγχετο διὰ τὸ το γὰρ* in 1. *Philip*:
φωὶ τῷ Τιμοθέῳ ἐλέγα, τὴν διακονίαν σου πληροφόρησον, Ἐπίσκοπός ὄντι. And a *Bishop* was called a *Deacon*, wherefore writing to *Timothy* he ſaith to him being a *Bishop*, *Fulfil thy Deaconſhip*.

Adde to this, that there is no word, or designation of any Clericall office, but is given to *Bishops*, and *Apostles*. The *Apostles* are called [*Prophets*] *Acts 13*. *The Prophets at Antioch, were Lucius and Manaen, and Paul and Barnabas*; and then they are called [*Pastors*] too; and indeed, *hoc ipſo* that they are *Bishops*, they are *Pastors*. *Spiritus S. poſuit vos Episcopos PASCERE ECCLESIAM DEI*. Whereupon the *Geeke Scholiaſt* expounds the word [*Pastor*]

stors to signifie *Bishops*, τὸς τὰς ἑκκλησίας ἀρχιερεῖς λέγεται, διὸς ὁ Τιμόθεος διὸς ὁ Τίτος ἦν. And ever since that *S. Peter* set us a copie in the compellation of the Prototype calling him the *Great Shepheard*, and *Bishop of our soules*, it hath obtrayned in all antiquity, that *Pastors* and *Bishops* are coincident, and we shall very hardly meet with an instance to the contrary.

Ephes. 4.

Epist. 59. ad
Raulinum.

* If *Bishops* be *Pastors*, then they are *Doctors* also, for these are conjunct, when other offices which may in person be united, yet in themselves are made disparate; For [*God hath given some Apostles, some Prophets, some Evangelists, some PASTORS AND TEACHERS.*] ποιμένας καὶ διδασκάλους, If *Pastors*, then also *Doctors*, and *Teachers*. And this is observed by *S. Austin*. "*Pastors, & Doctors whom you would have me to distinguish, I think are one and the same.*" For *Paul* doth not say; some *Pastors*, some *Doctors*, but to *Pastors* he joyneth *Doctors*, that *Pastors* might understand it belongeth to their office to teach. The same also is affirmed by *Sedulius* upon this place.

Thus it was in Scripture; But after the Churches were settled & *Bishops* fix't upon their severall Sees, then the Names also were made distinct, only those names which did designe temporary offices did expire τὰς ὁνομασίαις κοινὰς ὡς ἔστιν ἡ λέξις ἡ πρώτη, saith *S. Chrysostome*, Thus farre the names were common, viz. in the sense above explicated, λοιπὴν δὲ τὴν ἰδίαν ἑκάστη ἀποκαταστήσεται ὡς ἐστὶν ἡ λέξις ἡ δεύτερη, πρεσβυτέρη πρεσβυτέρῳ. But immediately the names were made proper and distinct, and to every order it's owne Name is left, of a *Bishop* so a *Bishop*, of a *Presbyter* to a *Presbyter*. * This could not

not be suppos'd at first, for when they were to borrow words from the titles of secular honour, or offices, and to transplant them to an artificiall, and imposed sense, *U s e*, which is the Master of language, must rule us in this affaire, and *U s e* is not contracted but in some proceſſe, and descent of time.* For at first, Christendome it selfe wanted a Name, and the *Disciples* of the Glorious Nazarene were *Christ'n'd* first in *Antioch*, for they had their *baptisme* some yeares before they had their *Name*. It had been no wonder then, if *per omnia* it had so happened in the compellation of all the offices and orders of the Church.

BUt immediately after the *Apostles*, and still more in descending ages *Episcopus* signified only the Superintendent of the Church, the *Bishop* in the present, & vulgar conception. Some few examples I shall give instead of Myriads. In the *Canons* of the *Apo-* § 24.
Appropriating the word *Episcopus* or Bishop to the Supreme Church-officer,
stles the word *ἐπίσκοπος*, or *Bishop* is us'd 36 times in appropriation to him that is the *Ordinary Ruler & president* of the Church above the *Clergie* and the *Laity*, being 24 times expressly distinguish'd from *Presbyter*, and in the other 14 having particular care for government, jurisdiction, censures and Ordinations committed to him as I shall shew hereafter, and all this is within the verge of the first 50 which are received as Authentick, by the Councell of ^a *Nice*, of ^b *Antioch*, 25 *Canons* whereof are taken ^a *Can. 15.* out of the *Canons* of the *Apostles*: the Councell of ^c *Or 16.* *Gangra* calling them *Canones Ecclesiasticos*, and *Apo-* ^b *c. 9. &* ^c *alibi.* *stolicas*

c post advent.
Episc. Cypri.
d advers.
Praxeam.
e lib. 3. c. 59.
de vitâ Const.

Ca. 4.

cap. 18. de
Orthod: fide

Anno Dom:
257.

stolicas traditiones; by the Epistle of the first Councell of *Constantinople* to *Damasus*, which *Theodoret* hath inserted into his story; by the ^e Councell of *Ephesus*; by ^d *Tertullian*; by ^e *Constantine* the Great; and are sometimes by way of eminency called THE CANONS, sometimes, THE ECCLESIASTICALL CANONS, sometimes, the ancient and received Canons of our Fathers, sometimes the *Apostolicall Canons*, τὰς ἐκ τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ μακαρίου πατρὸς ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς καὶ κυρωθῆναι, ἀλλὰ μὴ καὶ ἐκδοθῆναι ἡμῶν ὀνόματι τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ἐκδοξῶν Ἀποστόλων, said the Fathers of the Councell in *Trullo*: and *Damasen* puts them in order next to the Canon of Holy Scripture: so in effect does *Isidore* in his preface to the worke of the Councells, for he sets these Canons in front, because *Sancti Patres eorum sententias autoritate Synodali roborarunt, & inter Canonicas posuerunt Constitutiones. The H. Fathers have established these Canons by the authority of Councells, and have put them amongst the Canonick Constitutions.* And great reason, for in Pope *Stephen* time, they were translated into Latine by one *Dionysius* at the intreaty of *Laurentius*, because then the old Latine copies were rude and barbarous. Now then this second translation of them being made in Pope *Stephen* time, who was contemporary with *S. Irenaus* and *S. Cyprian*, the old copie, elder then this, and yet after the Originall to be sure, shewes them to be of prime antiquity, and they are mention'd by *S. Stephen* in an Epistle of his to *Bishop Hilarius*, where he is severe in censure of them who doe prevaricate these Canons.

* But

* But for farther satisfaction I referre the Reader to the Epistle of Gregory Holloander to the Moderators of the Citie of Norimberg. I deny not but they are called *Apocryphall* by Gratian, and some others, viz. in the sense of the Church, just as the *wisdome of Solomon*, or *Ecclesiasticus*, but yet by most, beleived to be written by S. Clement, from the dictate of the Apostles, and without all Question, are so farre Canonically, as to be of undoubted Ecclesiasticall authority, and of the first Antiquity.

Ignatius his testimony is next in time and in authority. *Ἐπίσκοπος ὡς πατὴρ ἔχει τὸ πᾶν ἐν ἑαυτῷ.* ^{Epist. ad Trall.} The Bishop bears the image and representment of the Father of all. And a little after, *ὃς ἐστὶν ἐπίσκοπος, ἀλλ' ἢ πάντες ἀρχιερεῖς, ἐπισκοπῶντες ἐν ἑαυτοῖς πάντας κατὰ τὸν λόγον, ὃς ἐστὶν ἐπίσκοπος, ἀλλ' ἢ σύστημα ἱερῶν, σύμβουλοι καὶ συνάδουσι τῷ Ἐπισκόπῳ; ἢ καὶ δακρυνοὶ &c.* What is the Bishop, but he that hath all authority and rule? What is the Presbytery, but a sacred Colledge, Counsellors and helpers or assessors to the Bishop? what are Deacons &c: So that here is the reall, and exact distinction of dignity, the appropriation of Name, and intimation of office. The Bishop is above all, the Presbyters his helpers, the Deacons his Ministers, *μιμηταὶ τοῦ Ἀγγελικοῦ θωάματος,* imitators of the Angells who are Ministring Spirits. But this is of so known, so evident a truth, that it were but impertinent to insist longer upon it. Himselfe in three of his Epistles uses it nine times in distinct enumeration, viz. to the Trallians, to the Philadelphians, to the Philippians. * And now I shall insert these considerations.

Epist. ad He-
ron.

1. Although it was so that *Episcopus*, and *Presbyter* were distinct in the beginning after the *Apostles* death, yet sometimes the names are used promiscuously, which is an evidence, that confusion of names is no intimation, much lesse an argument for the parity of offices, since themselves, who sometimes though indeed very seldome, confound the names, yet distinguish the offices frequently, and dogmatically. Μὴν αὖτε καὶ Ἐπισκοπὸν καὶ πρεσβ. ἐστὶν καὶ ἐπί, καὶ ὁ διακονεὶ καὶ ἐπί. Where by *ἐπισκοπὸν*, he means the *Presbyters* of the Church of *Antioch*, so indeed some say, and though there be no necessity of admitting this meaning, because by *ἐπισκοπὸν* he may mean the suffragan *Bishops* of *Syria*, yet the other may be fairly admitted, for himselfe their *Bishop* was absent from his Church, and had delegated to the *Presbytery* Episcopall jurisdiction to rule the Church till hee being dead another *Bishop* should be chosen, so that they were *Episcopi Vicarii*, and by representment of the person of the *Bishop* and execution of the *Bishops* power by delegation were called *ἐπίσκοποι*, and this was done least the Church should not be only without a Father, but without a Guardian too; & yet what a *Bishop* was, and of what authority no man more confident and frequent then *Ignatius*. * Another example of this is in *Eusebius*, speaking of the youth whom *S. John* had converted and commended to a *Bishop*. *Clement*, whose story this was, proceeding in the relation saies, καὶ ἐπισκοπὸν &c. But the *Presbyter*; unlesse by *ἐπισκοπὸν* here *S. Clement* means not the
Order

Order, but *age* of the Man, as it is like enough he did, for a little after he calls him [ἐπισβύτης] *The old man*, *Tum verò PRESBYTER in domum suam suscipit adolescentem. Redde depositum, O EPISCOPE*, saith *S. Iohn* to him. *Tunc graviter suspirans SENIOR &c.* So *S. Clement.* * But this, as it is very usuall, so it is just as in Scripture, *viç.* in descent and comprehension, for this Bishop also was a *Presbyter*, as well as *Bishop*, or else in the delegation of *Episcopall* power, for so it is in the allegation of *Ignatius.*

2. That this name *Episcopus* or *Bishop* was chosen to be appropriate to the supream order of the Clergy, was done with faire reason and designe. For this is no fastuous, or pompous title, the word is of no dignity, and implies none but what is consequent to the just and faire execution of its offices. But *Presbyter* is a name of dignity and veneration, *Rise up to the gray head*, and it transplants the honour and Reverence of age to the office of the *Presbyterate*. And yet this the *Bishops* left, and took that which signifies a meere supra-vision, and overlooking of his charge, so that if we take estimate from the names, *Presbyter* is a name of dignity, and *Episcopus*, of office and burden. * [*He that desires the office of a Bishop, desires a good work.*] *οὐρανίας ἀπαρτάς.* Saith *S. Chrysostome.* *Nec dicit si quis Episcopatum desiderat, bonum desiderat gradum, sed bonum opus desiderat, quod in majore ordine constitutus possit si velit occasionem habere exercendarum virtutum.* So *S. Hierome.* It is not an honourable

Lib. 7. etymo-
log. c. 12.

ble title, but a good office, and a great opportunity of the exercise of excellent virtues. But for this we need no better testimony then of S. Isidore. *Episcopatus autem vocabulum inde dictum, quod ille qui superefficitur superintendat, curam scil. gerens subditorum.* But, *Presbyter* Grecè, latinè *senior* interpretatur, non pro atate, vel decrepitâ senectute, sed propter honorem & dignitatem quam acceperunt. ἱδὲν δὲ ἐπισβύτης, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱδὲν δὲ ἐπὶ πλεόντων, καὶ ἐπισβύτης τὸ τιμῆς, καὶ πλεόντων, faith *Iulius Pollux.*

3. Supposing that *Episcopus* and *Presbyter* had been often confounded in Scripture, and Antiquity, and that, both in ascension and descension, yet as *Priests* may be called *Angells*, and yet the *Bishop* be *THE ANGEL* of the Church, [*THE ANGEL*,] for his excellency, [*OF THE CHURCH*,] for his appropriate preheminance, and singularity, so though *Presbyters* had been called *Bishops* in Scripture (of which there is not one example but in the senses above explicated, to wit, in conjunction and comprehension;) yet the *Bishop* is ὁ ἐπίσκοπος by way of eminence, *THE BISHOP*: and in descent of time, it came to passe, that the compellation, which was alwaies his, by way of eminence was made his by appropriation. And a faire precedent of it wee have from the compellation given to our blessed Saviour, ὁ μέγας πρίστω καὶ ἐπίσκοπος ψυχῶν, *The great sheapheard, and Bishop of our soules.* The name [*Bishop*] was made sacred by being the appellative of his person, and by faire intimation it does more immediately descend upon them, who had from Christ
more

more immediate mission, and more ample power, and therefore [*Episcopus*] and [*Pastor*] by way of eminence are the most fit appellatives for them who in the Church have the greatest power, office and dignity, as participating of the fulnesse of that power and authority for which Christ was called the *Bishop of our soules*. * And besides this so faire a Copy, besides the using of the word in the prophecy of the Apostolate of *Matthias*, and in the prophet *Isaiah*, and often in Scripture, as I have showne before, any one whereof is abundantly enough, for the fixing an appellative upon a Church officer, this name may also be intimated as a distinctive compellation of a Bishop over a Priest, because *ἐπισκοπῆς* is indeed often used for the office of Bishops, as in the instances above, but *κλήρῳ* is used for the office of the inferiours, for S. Paul writing to the *Romans*, who then had no Bishop fixed in the chaire of *Rome*, does command them *κλήρῳ τῆς τῆς* Rom. 16. 17. *ἐκκλησίας τοῦ ἑσθλῆς: ἐπισκοπῆς*, not *ἐπισκοπῆς*, this for the Bishop, that for the subordinate Clergy. So then, the word [*Episcopus*] is fixt at first, and that by derivation, and example of Scripture, and faire congruity of reason.

B Vt the Church used other appellatives for Bishops, which it is very requisite to specify, that we may understand diverse authorities of the Fathers using those words in appropriation to Bishops, which of late have bin given to Presbyters, ever since

§ 25.
Calling the
Bishop and
him only
the Pastor of
the Church,

T

since

since they have begun to set *Presbyters* in the roome of *Bishops*.

lib. 3. hist. c.
36.

Epist. ad E-
phes.

And first, *Bishops* were called [*Pastors*] in antiquity, in imitation of their being called so in Scripture. *Eusebius* writing the story of *S. Ignatius*, *Deniq; cum Smyrnam venisset, ubi Polycarpus erat, scribit inde unam epistolam ad Ephesios, eorumq; Pastorem, that is, Onesimus, for so followes, in quâ meminist Onesimi.* Now that *Onesimus* was their *Bishop*, himsele witnesses in the Epistle here mentioned, τὸ πλὺν ὡς οὗτος ὑμῶν ἐστὶν ἐπίσκοπος τοῦ ἀμύμονος ἐν ὁποίῳ τῷ ἐν ἀγάπῃ ἀδελφότητι ὑμῶν ὁ πιστάτωρ &c. *Onesimus* was their *Bishop*, and therefore their *Pastor*, and in his Epistle *ad Antiochenos* himsele makes mention of *Euvodius* & *Δξιμαρχεῖς* τοὺς ὑμῶν your most Blessed and worthy *PASTOR*.

Euseb. lib. 7.
cap. 24.

* When *Paulus Samosatenus* first broached his heresie against the divinity of our blessed Saviour, presently a Councell was called where *S. Denis Bishop of Alexandria* could not be present, *Ceteri vero Ecclesiarum PASTORES diversis à locis & urbibus convenerunt Antiochiam. In quibus insignes & ceteris præcellentes erant Firmilianus à Casarea Capadocia, Gregorius, & Athenodorus Fratres & Helenus Sardensis Ecclesia Episcopus Sed & Maximus Bostrensis Episcopus dignus eorum consortio coherēbat.* These *Bishops*, *Firmilianus*, and *Helenus*, and *Maximus* were the *PASTORS*; and not only so, but *Presbyters* were not called *PASTORS*, for he proceedes, *sed & Presbyteri quamplurimi, & Diaconi ad supra dictam Urbem conveniunt.*

runts. So that these were not under the generall appellation of *Pastors*. * And the *Councell of Sardis* *can. 6.* making provision for the manner of election of a *Bishop* to a *Widdow-Church*, when the people is urgent for the speedy institution of a *Bishop*, if any of the *Comprovincialls* be wanting he must be certifi'd by the *Primate*, *ἡ τοὺς ἀδελφούς τῆς ἐκκλησίας αὐτοῦ* *that the multitude require a Pastor to be given unto them.* * The same expression is also in the *Epistle of Iulius Bishop of Rome* to the *Presbyters, Deacons, and People of Alexandria* in behalfe *bis. tripaz. lib. 4. c. 29.* of their *Bishop Athanasius*, *Suscipite itaq, Fratres charissimi cum omni divinâ gratiâ PASTOREM VESTRUM AC PRÆSULEM tanquam verè ἀδελφόν.* And a little after, *& gaudere fruente orationibus qui PASTOREM VESTRUM esuritis & sititis &c:* The same is often us'd in *S. Hilary* and *S. Gregory Nazianzen*, where *Bishops* are called *PASTORES MAGNI*, *Great sheapheards*, or *PASTORS*; * When *Ensebius* the *Bishop of Samosata* was banished, *Universi lacrymis prosequenti sunt ereptionem PASTORIS sui*, saith *Theodoret*, *they wept for the losse of their PASTOR.* And *lib. 4 cap. 14.* *Eulogius* a *Presbyter* of *Edessa* when he was arguing with the *Prefect* in behalfe of *Christianity*, *& PASTOREM (inquit) habemus, & vultus illius sequimur*, *we have a PASTOR* (a *Bishop* certainly, for himselfe was a *Priest*) *and his commands we follow.* But, *Theodoret. lib. 4. c. 18.* I need not specifie any more particular instances; I touch'd upon it before. * He that shall consider, that to *Bishops* the regiment of the whole Church was concredited at the first, and the *Presbyters* were

but his assistants in Cities and Villages, and were admitted *in partem sollicitudinis*, first casually and cursorily, & then by station and fixt residency when Parishes were divided, and endowed, will easily see, that this word [*Pastor*] must needs be appropriated to *Bishops* to whom according to the conjunctive expression of S. Peter, and the practise of infant Christendome *ἐπισκοπή* and *παιδεία*, was intrusted, first solely, then in communication with others, but alwaies principally.

* But now of late, especially in those places where *Bishops* are exauſtored, and no where else, that I know, but amongst those men that have complying designs, the word [*Pastor*] is given to Parish Priests against the manner and usage of Ancient Christendome; and though Priests may be called *Pastors* in a limited, subordinate sense, and by way of participation (just as they may be called *Angels*, when the *Bishop* is the *Angell*, and so *Pastors* when the *Bishop* is the *Pastor*, and so they are called *Pastores ovium* in S. Cyprian) but never are they called *Pastores* simply, or *Pastores Ecclesia* for above 600 yeares in the Church, and I think 800 more. And therefore it was good counsell which S. Paul gave, to avoid *vocum Novitates*, because there is never any affectation of New words contrary to the Ancient voice of Christendome, but there is some designe in the thing too, to make an innovation: and of this we have had long warning, in the New use of the word [*Pastor*].

Epist. 11:

If

IF *Bishops* were the *Pastors*, then *Doctors* also; it was the observation which *S. Austin* made out of *Ephes. 4.* as I quoted him even now, [*For God hath given some Apostles, some Prophets some Pastors and Doctors*]. So the Church hath learn'd to speak. In the *Greeks* Councell of *Carthage* it was decreed, that places which never had a *Bishop* of their owne should not now have *καθολικὸν ἴδιον*, a *DOCTOR* of their owne, that is a *Bishop*, but still be subject to the *Bishop* of the *Diocesse* to whom formerly they gave obedience; and the title of the chapter is, that the parts of the *Diocesse* without the *Bishops* consent *ἐπίσκοποι ἵταρον μὴ δόξαν*, must not have another *Bishop*. He who in the title is called *Bishop*, in the chapter is called the *DOCTOR*. And thus also, *Epiphanius* speaking of *Bishops* calleth them, *πατέρας, καὶ διδασκάλους*, *Fathers and DOCTORS*, *Gratia enim Ecclesia laus DOCTORIS est*, saith *S. Ambrose*, speaking of the eminence of the *Bishop*, over the *Presbyters* and subordinate Clergy. The same also is to be seen in *S. * Austin*, *Sedulius*, and diverse others. I deny not but it is in this appellative, as in diverse of the rest, that the *Presbyters* may in subordination be also called *DOCTORS*, for every *Presbyter* must be *διδάσκων*, apt to teach (but yet this is expressed as a requisite in the particular office of a *Bishop*) and nowhere expressly of a *Presbyter* that I can find in Scripture, but yet because in all Churches, it was by license of the *Bishop*, that *Presbyters* did Preach, if at all, and in some Churches the *Bishop* only did it,

§ 26.

And Doctor.

Epist. 75.

* Epist. 59.

1^o Tim. 3.

lib. 7. c. 19. particularly of *Alexandria* (*Μέγρος δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἑπισκοπὸς διδάσκει*, saith *Sozomen*) therefore it was that the *Presbyter*, in the language of the Church was not, but the *Bishop*, was often called, *Doctor of the Church*.

§ 27.
And Pon-
tifex.

1. lib. 8. c. ult.
Apost. con-
stitut.

2. lib. 3. b. 1.
cap. 31.

3. lib. 9. c. 14.
b. 1. tripert.

4 lib. 3. c. 21.

5. lib. 4. c. 20.

THE next word which the Primitive Church did use as proper to expresse the offices and eminence of *Bishops*, is *PONTIFEX*, and *PONTIFICATUS* for *Episcopacy*. Sed à Domino edocti consequentiam rerum, *Episcopis PONTIFICATUS munera assignavimus*, said the *Apostles*, as 1. *S. Clement* reports. *PONTIFICALE* *πίτλον* *S. Iohn* &c *Apostle* wore in his forehead, as an Ensigne of his *Apostleship*, a gold plate or medall, when he was in *PONTIFICABILIBUS*, in his pontificall or *Apostolicall habit*, saith *Eusebius*. 2. * *De dispensationibus Ecclesiarum Antiqua sanctio tenuit & definitio SS. Patrum in Nicaâ convenientium.... & si PONTIFICES vulerint, ut cum eis vicini propter utilitatem celebrent ordinationes*. Said the Fathers of the Councell of *Constantinople*. 3. * *Quâ tempestate in urbe Româ Clemens quoq; tertius post Paulum & Petrum, PONTIFICATUM tenebat*, saith 4 *Eusebius* according to the translation of *Ruffinus*. * *Apud Antiochiam verò Theophilus per idem tempus sextus ab Apostolis Ecclesia PONTIFICATUM tenebat*, saith the same *Eusebius*. 5. * And there is a famous story of *Alexander Bishop of Cappadocia*, that when *Narcissus Bishop of Ierusalem*, was invalid and unfit for government by reason of his extreame age, he was designed

designed by a particular Revelation and a voice from Heaven, *Suscipite Episcopum qui vobis à Deo destinatus est*; Receive your Bishop whom God hath appointed for you, but it was when *Narcissus jam senio fessus* PONTIFICATUS *Ministerio sufficere non posset*, saith the story. 6. * *Eulogius* the confessor 6. *Euseb. lib. 6. c. 9.* discoursing with the Prefect, that wish'd him to comply with the Emperour, ask'd him; *Numquid ille una cum Imperio etiam PONTIFICATUM est consequutus?* He hath an Empire, but hath he also a Bishoprick? PONTIFICATUS is the word. * But 7 *S. Diomysius* is very exact in the distinction of clerical offices, and particularly gives this account of the present. *Est igitur PONTIFICATUS ordo qui praeditus vi persiciente munera hierarchia qua perficiunt &c.* And a little after, *Sacerdotum autem ordo subiectus PONTIFICUM ordini &c.* To which agrees 8 *S. Isidore* in his etymologies, *Ideo autem & Presbyteri Sacerdotes vocantur, quia sacrum dant sicut & Episcopi, qui licet Sacerdotes sint, tamen PONTIFICATUS apicem non habent, quia nec Chrismate fontem signant, nec Parasletum spiritum dant, quod solis debere Episcopis lectio actuum Apostolicorum demonstrat*; and in the same chapter, *PONTIFEX Princeps Sacerdotum est.*

One word more there is often used in antiquity And *Sacerdos* for *Bishops*, and that's *SACERDOS*. *Sacerdotum autem bipartitus est ordo*, say *S. Clement* and *Anacletus*, for they are *Majores* and *Minores*. The *Majores*, *Bishops*; the *Minores*, *Presbyters*, for so it is in the *Apostolicall Constitutions* attributed to *S. Clement*, a *Lib. 8. c. 46.*

Episcopis

Episcopus quidem assignavimus, & attribuimus quæ ad PRINCIPATUM SACERDOTII pertinent, Presbyteris verò quæ ad Sacerdotium. And in ^b S. Cyprian, *Presbyteri cum Episcopis Sacerdotali honore conjuncti.* But although in such distinction and subordination & in concretion a Presbyter is sometimes called *Sacerdos*, yet in Antiquity *Sacerdotium Ecclesia* does evermore signify *Episcopacy*, and *Sacerdos Ecclesia* the Bishop. *Theotecnus SACERDOTIUM Ecclesia tenens in Episcopatu*, saith ^c Eusebius, and *summus Sacerdos*, the Bishop alwaies, *Dandi baptismum jus habet summus SACERDOS, qui est Episcopus*, saith ^d Tertullian: and indeed *Sacerdos* alone is very seldom used in any respect but for the Bishop, unlesse when there is some distinctive terme, and of higher report given to the Bishop at the same time.

Ecclesia est plebs SACERDOTI adunata, & Grex pastori suo adherens, saith S. ^e Cyprian. And that we may know by [*Sacerdos*] he means the Bishop, his next words are, *Vnde scire debes Episcopum in Ecclesia esse, & Ecclesiam in Episcopo.* And in the same Epistle, *qui ad Cyprianum Episcopum in carcere literas direxerunt, SACERDOTE M Dei agnoscentes, & constantes.* * ^f Eusebius reckoning some of the chief Bishops assembled in the Councell of Antioch, in quibus erant *Helenus Sardensis Ecclesia Episcopus, & Nicomas ab Iconio, & Hierosolymorum PRÆCIPUUS SACERDOS Hymenæus, & vicina huic urbis Casarea Theotecnus*; and in the same place the Bishops of Pontus are called *Ponti provincia SACERDOTES.* *Abilius apud Alexandriam tredecim annis*

SA-

^f Euseb. lib. 3.
c. 21.

SACERDOTIO, ministrato diem obiit, for so long he was Bishop, cui succedit Cerdon tertius in SACERDOTIUM. Et Papias similiter apud Hierapolim SACERDOTIUM gerens, for he was Bishop of Hierapolis saith *Eusebius*, and the^b Bishops of the Province of *Arles*, speaking of their first Bishop *Trophimus*, ordained Bishop by *S. Peter*, say, quod primainter *Gallias Arelatensis civitas* missum à Beatissimo Petro Apostolo sanctum *Trophimum* habere meruit SACERDOTE. *** The Bishop also was ever design'd when ANTISTES Ecclesie was the word. *Melito* quog^s *Sardensis Ecclesia* ANTISTES, saith *Eusebius* out of *Irenaeus*: *aeisus* is the name in Greeke, and used for the Bishop by *Iustin Martyr* (and is of the same authority and use with PRÆLATUS and prapositus Ecclesie.) ANTISTES autem SACERDOS dictus, ab eo quod antestat. Primus est enim in ordine Ecclesie: & supra se nullum habet, saith *S. Isidore*. Lib. 3. c. 35.
h Epist. Com-
provinc. ad S.
Leonem.

*** But in those things which are of no Question, I need not insist. One title more I must specify to prevent misprision upon a mistake of theirs of a place in *S. Ambrose*. The Bishop is sometimes called PRIMUS PRESBYTER. Nam & *Timotheum* Episcopum à se creatum Presbyterum vocat: quia PRIMI PRESBYTERI Episcopi appellabantur, ut recedente eo sequens ei succederet. Elections were made of Bishops out of the Colledge of Presbyters (Presbyteri unum ex se electum Episcopum nominabant, saith *S. Hierome*) but at first this election was made not according to merit, but according to seniority, and therefore Bishops were called PRIMI PRESBYTERI. Lib. 4. c. 26.
Lib 7. Erymol
c. 12.
Comment. in
4. Ephef.

Quaest. Vet. et
N. Testam.
Qu. 101.

In 1. Tim. 3.

In 4. Ephes.

RI, that's S. Ambrose his sense. But S. Austin gives another, PRIMI PRESBYTERI, that is chiefe above the Presbyters. *Quid est Episcopus nisi PRIMUS PRESBYTER, h. e. summus Sacerdos* (saith he) And S. Ambrose himselte gives a better exposition of his words, then is intimated in that clause before, *Episcopi, & Presbyteri una ordinatio est? Vterq; enim Sacerdos est; Sed Episcopus PRIMUS est, ut omnis Episcopus Presbyter sit, non omnis Presbyter Episcopus. Hic enim Episcopus est, qui inter Presbyteros PRIMUS est.* The bishop is PRIMUS PRESBYTER, that is, PRIMUS SACERDOS, h. e. PRINCEPS EST SACERDOTUM, so he expounds it, not Princeps, or Primus INTER PRESBYTEROS, himselte remaining a meere Presbyter, but PRINCEPS PRESBYTERORUM; for PRIMUS PRESBYTER could not be Episcopus in another sense, he is the chiefe, not the senior of the Presbyters. Nay Princeps Presbyterorum is used in a sense lower then Episcopus, for Theodoret speaking of S. Iohn Chrysostome, saith, that having been the first Presbyter at Antioch, yet refused to be made Bishop, for a long time. *Iohannes enim qui diutissime Princeps fuit Presbyterorum Antiochia, ac saepe electus praesul perpetuus vitator dignitatis illius de hoc admirabili solo pullulavit.*

*** The Church also in her first language when she spake of *Præpositus Ecclesia*, meant the Bishop of the Diocese. Of this there are innumerable examples, but most plentifully in S. Cyprian in his 3, 4, 7, 11, 13, 15, 23, 27 Epistles; and in Tertullian his book *ad Martyres*; and infinite places more. Of which

which this advantage is to be made, that the Primitive Church did generally understand those places of Scripture which speak of *Prelates*, or *Prapofiti*, to be meant of *Bishops*, *Obedite prapofitis*, Heb. 13. saith S. Paul, *Obey your Prelates, or them that are set over you. Prapofiti autem Pastores sunt*, saith S. Austin, *Prelates are they that are Pastors*. But S. Cyprian summes up many of them together, and insinuates the severall relations, exprest in the severall appellations of Bishops. For writing against Florentinus Papianus, ac nisi (saith he) apud te purgati fuerimus ecce jam sex annis nec fraternitas habueris Episcopum, nec plebs prapositum, nec grex Pastorem, nec Ecclesia gubernatorem, nec Christus antistitem, nec Deus Sacerdotes; and all this he means of himselfe, who had then been sixe years Bishop of Carthage, a Prelate of the people, a governour to the Church, a Pastor to the flock, a Priest of the most high God, a Minister of Christ.

The summe is this; When we find in antiquity any thing asserted of any order of the hierarchy, under the names of *Episcopus*, or *Princeps Sacerdotum*, or *Presbyterorum primus*, or *Pastor*, or *Doctor*, or *Pontifex*, or *Major*, or *Primus Sacerdos*, or *Sacerdotium Ecclesia habens*, or *Antistes Ecclesia*, or *Ecclesia sacerdos*; (unlesse there be a specification, and limiting of it to a parochiall, and inferior Minister) it must be understood of Bishops in its present acceptation. For these words are all by way of eminency, and most of them by absolute appropriation,

ation, and singularity the appellations, and distinctive names of Bishops.

§ 28.
And these
were a distinct
order
from the
rest.

BΥΤ, ὀνόματι καὶ περιουσίᾳ μυστήτων (saith the Philosopher) and this their distinction of Names did amongst the Fathers of the Primitive Church denote a distinction of calling, and office, supereminent to the rest.

For first *Bishops* are by all Antiquity reckoned as a distinct office of Clergy. *Si quis Presbyter, aut Diaconus, aut quilibet de Numero Clericorum pergat ad alienam parochiam præter Episcopi sui conscientiam, &c.* So it is in the fifteenth Canon of the *Apostles*, and so it is there plainly distinguished as an office different from *Presbyter*, and *Deacon*, above thirty times in those *Canons*, and distinct powers given to the *Bishop*, which are not given to the other, and to the *Bishop* above the other. * The Councell of *Ancyra* inflicting censures upon *Presbyters* first, then *Deacons* which had fallen in time of persecution, gives leave to the *Bishop* to mitigate the paines as he sees cause. *Sed si ex Episcopis aliqui in iis vel afflictionem aliquam viderint, in eorum potestate id esse.* The Canon would not suppose any *Bishops* to fall, for indeed they seldome did, but for the rest, provision was made both for their penances, and indulgence at the discretion of the *Bishop*. And yet sometimes they did fall, *Opatus* bewailes it, but withall gives evidence of their distinction of order. *Quid commemorem Laicos qui tunc in Ecclesiâ nullâ fuerant dignitate suffulti?*

Lib. 1. ad Par-
men.

Quid

*Quid Ministros plurimos, quid Diaconos in tertio, quid Presbyteros in secundo Sacerdotio constitutos. Ipsi apices, & Principes omnium aliqui Episcopi aliqua instrumenta Divina Legis impie tradiderunt. The Laity, the Ministers, the Deacons, the Presbyters, nay, the Bishops themselves, the Princes and chiefs of all, prov'd traditors. The diversity of order is here fairly intimated, but dogmatically affirmed by him in his 2^d book adv. Parmen. Quatuor genera capitum sunt in Ecclesiâ, Episcoporum, Presbyterorum, Diaconorum, & fidelium. There are foure sorts of heads in the Church, Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons, and the faithfull Laity. And it was remarkable that when the people of Hippo had as it were by violence carried S. Austin to be made Priest by their Bishop Valerius, some seeing the good man weep in consideration of the great hazard and difficulty accruing to him in his ordination to such an office, thought he had wept because he was not Bishop, they pretending comfort told him, quia locus Presbyterii licet ipse majore dignus esset appropinquaret tamen Episcopatu. The office of a Presbyter though indeed he deserv'd a greater, yet was the next step in order to a Bishoprick. So Possidonium tells the story. It was the next step, the next in descent, in subordination, the next under it. So the Councell of Chalcedon, *ἐπεὶ τὸν ἐκείνου ἀποστόλου καθ' ἡμᾶς οἰκονομία ἐστίν*, Can. 29. It is sacriledge to bring downe a Bishop to the degree and order of a Presbyter, and the same is intimated, so the Councell permits in case of great delinquency, to suspend him from the execution of his Episcopall*

copall order, but still the character remaines, and the degree of it selfe is higher.

* *Nos autem idcirco hac scribimus (Fratres chariss.) quia novimus quàm Sacrosanctum debeat esse Episcopale Sacerdotium, quod & clero, & plebi debet esse exemplo,* said the Fathers of the Councell of *Antioch*, in *Eusebius*, *The office of a Bishop is sacred, and exemplary both to the Clergy, and the People. Interdixit per omnia, Magna Synodus, non Episcopo, non Presbytero, non Diacono licere, &c.* And it was a remarkable story that *Arius* troubled the Church for missing of a Praelation to the order and dignity of a Bishop. *Post Achillam enim Alexander ... ordinatur Episcopus. Hoc autem tempore Arius in ordine Presbyterorum fuit, Alexander was ordained a Bishop, and Arius still left in the order of meer Presbyters.* * Of the same exigence are all those clauses of commemoration of a Bishop and Presbyters of the same Church. *Insius autem Romanus Episcopus propter senectutem defuit, erantq; pro eo presentes Vitus, & Vincentius Presbyteri ejusdem Ecclesia.* They were his Vicars, and deputies for their Bishop in the *Nicene Councell*, saith *Sozomen*. But most pertinent is that of the *Indian* persecution related by the same man. Many of them were put to death. *Erant autem horum alii quidem Episcopi, alii Presbyteri, alii diversorum ordinum Clerici.* * And this difference of Order is cleare in the Epistle of the Bishops of *Illyricum* to the Bishops of the *Levant*, *De Episcopis autem constituendis, vel comministris jam constitutis si permanferint usq; ad finem*

Lib. 7. c. 26.

Can. 3. Nicen.
Concil.

Lib. 2. c. 1.
hist. tripart.

Lib. 3. tripart.
c. 2.

finem sani, bene Similitèr Presbyteros atq; Diaconos in Sacerdotali ordine definivimus, &c. And of Sabbatins it is said, Nolens in suo ordine Manere Presbyteratus, desiderabat Episcopatum; he would not stay in the order of a Presbyter, but desir'd a Bishoprick. Ordo Episcoporum quadripartitus est, in Patri-^{His. tripart.} archis, Archiepiscopis, Metropolitanis, & Episco-^{l. 11. c. 5.} pis, saith S. Isidore; Omnes autem superius designati^{Lib. 7. etymol.} ordines uno eodemq; vocabulo Episcopi Nominantur.^{c. 12.}

But it were infinite to reckon authorities, and clauses of exclusion for the three orders of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons; we cannot almost dip in any tome of the Councells but we shall find it recorded: And all the *Martyr Bishops of Rome* did ever acknowledge, and publish it, that Episcopacy is a peculiar office, and order in the Church of God; as is to be seen in their decretall Epistles, in the first tome of the Councells. * I onely summe this up with the attestation of the Church of England, in the preface to the book of ordination. *It is evident to all men diligently reading holy Scripture and Ancient Authors, that from the Apostles times, there have been these ORDERS of Ministers in Christs Church, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.* The same thing exactly that was said in the second Councell of *Carthage*, *ἡ δὲ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία, ἡνὶ ἡμετέροις, ἀποστόλοις, ἐκ δὲ μαρτύρων.* But wee shall see it better, and by more reall probation, for that Bishops were a distinct order appears by this;

Per Binium Paris.

Can. 2.

I. The

§ 29.
To which
the Pres-
byterate
was but a
degree.
Can. 10.

Lib. 5. c. 8.

Epiß. 52.

1. **T**He *Presbyterate* was but a step to *Episcopacy*, as *Deaconship* to the *Presbyterate*, and therefore the Councell of *Sardis* decreed, that no man should be ordain'd Bishop, but he that was first a *Reader*, and a *Deacon*, and a *Presbyter*, *ἵνα ὁ καθὼς ἐκαστὸν ... διὰ τὴν ἀφ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ τὴν ἀνακοίνωσιν, καὶ ἀνακοίνωσιν διαβῇ εἰς τὴν ὑψίστην*, That by every degree he may passe to the sublimity of *Episcopacy*. *ἕκαστος δὲ τῶν τῶν μακρῶν ὁ καθὼς ἐκ ἐλαχίστου διακονῇ χρόνῳ μῆκος &c.* But the degree of every order must have the permanence and triall of no small time. Here there is clearly a distinction of orders, and ordinations, and assumptions to them respectively, all of the same distance and consideration; And *Theodore* out of the *Synodicall* *Epistle* of the same Councell, saies that they complain'd that some from *Arrianisme* were reconciled, and promoted from *Deacons* to be *Presbyters*, from *Presbyters* to be *Bishops*, calling it *μεῖζον καθῶς*, a greater degree, or Order: And *S. Gregory Nazianzen*, in his *Encomium* of *S. Athanasius*, speaking of his *Canonick* Ordination, and election to a *Bishoprick*, saies that he was chosen being *ἀξιότατος*, most worthy, and *πῶς τὴν ἡν καθῶς κολλήσαντες διέβησαν*, coming through all the inferior Orders. The same commendation *S. Cyprian* gives of *Cornelius*. *Non istē ad Episcopatum subito pervenit, sed per omnia Ecclesiastica officia promotus, & in divinis administrationibus Dominum sepē promeritus ad Sacerdotii sublime fastigium cunctis religionis gradibus ascendit ... & factus est Episcopus à plurimis Collegiis nostris qui tunc in Vrbe*

*Româ aderant, qui ad nos literas de ejus ordinatio-
ne miserunt.* Here is evident, not only a promotion,
but a new Ordination of S. *Cornelius* to be Bishop
of *Rome*; so that now the chaire is full (saith S. Cy-
prian) & *quisquis jam Episcopus fieri voluerit foris
fiat necesse est, nec habeat Ecclesiasticam ordinatio-
nem &c.* No man else can receive ordination to the
Bishoprick.

2. **T**He ordination of a Bishop to his chaire was There be-
done *de Novo* after his being a *Presbyter*, and ing a pecu-
not only so, but in another manner then he had when liar manner
he was made Priest. This is evident in the first Ec- of Ordina-
clesiasticall Canon that was made after Scripture. tion to a Bi-
shoprick.
*Ἐπίσκοπος χειροτονίδω ἅνδ' Ἐπισκόπων δύο ἢ τριῶν. πρεσβύ-
τητος ἅνδ' ἑνὸς Ἐπισκόπου χειροτονίδω, καὶ διάκονος, καὶ ἢ λοιποὶ
κληρικοί.* A Priest and Deacon must be ordain'd of one
Bishop, but a Bishop must be ordain'd by two or three at
least. And that we may see it yet more to be Apo-
stolicall, S. *Anacletus* in his second Epistle reports,
*Hierosolymitarum primus Episcopus B. Iacobus à Pe-
tro, Iacobo, & Iohanne Apostolis est ordinatus.* Three
Apostles went to the ordaining of S. *Iames* to be a
Bishop, and the selfe same thing is in words affir-
med by *Anicetus*; *ut in ore duorum, vel trium stet
omnis veritas*; And S. *Cyprian* observes that when *Epist. Vnica.*
Cornelius was made Bishop of *Rome*, there hapned
to be many of his fellow Bishops there, & *factus est
Episcopus à plurimis collegis nostris qui tunc in urbe
Româ aderant.* These *Collega* could not be meer
Priests, for then the ordination of *Novatus* had
X been

been more Canonically, then that of *Cornelius*, and all Christendome had been deceived, for not *Novatus* who was ordain'd by three Bishops, but *Cornelius* had been the Schismatick, as being ordain'd by Priests, against the Canon. But here I observe it for the word [*plurimus*,] there were many of them ordination.

Can. 4.

* In pursuance of this *Apostolicall* ordinance, *Nicene* Fathers decreed that a Bishop should be ordain'd, *καὶ πῶς ἂν ᾖ ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ* by all the Bishops in the Province, unless it be in case of necessity, and then it must be done by three being gathered together, and the rest consenting; so the ordination to be performed. * The same is ratified in the Councell

Can. 49.

of *Antioch*, *ἐπίσκοπος οὐ χωρὶς τῶν ἑτέρων ἐπίσκοπων, ἀλλ' ἐν συνόδῳ τῶν ἐπίσκοπων τῆς ἐκκλησίας*. A Bishop is not to be ordain'd without a Synod of Bishops, and the presence of the *Metropolitan* of the province. But if this cannot be done conveniently, yet however it is required *καὶ τὰς ἄλλων ἐπίσκοπων παρουσία, ἢ ἑπὶ πλείονος τῶν ἐπίσκοπων*, the ordinations must be performed by many. The same was decreed in the Councell of *Laodicea*,

Can. 12.

can. 12. in the 13. Canon of the *African Code*, in the 22th Canon of the first Councell of *Arles*, and the fifth Canon of the second Councell of *Arles*, and was ever the practise of the Church; and so we may see it descend through the bowells of the fourth Coun-

Can. 4.

cell of *Carthage* to the interior ages. *Episcopus quum ordinatur, duo Episcopi ponant, & teneant Evangeliorum codicem super caput, & cervicem ejus, & uno super eum fundente benedictionem, reliquiom-*

nes

nes Episcopi qui adsunt manibus suis caput ejus tangant.

The thing was Catholike, and Canonickall. It was *prima, & immutabilis constitutio*, so the first Canon of the Council of *Epaunū calls it, And therefore after the death of Meletius Bishop of Antioch, a schisme was made about his successor, & Evagrius his ordination condemn'd, because, *prater Ecclesiasticam regulam fuerit ordinatus*, it was against the rule of Holy Church. Why so? *Solus enim Paulinus eum instituerat plurimas regulas pravaricatus Ecclesiasticas. Non enim precipiunt ut per se quilibet ordinare possit, sed convocare Vniuersos provincia Sacerdotes, & prater tres Pontifices ordinationem penitus fieri, interdiciunt.* Which because it was not observ'd in the ordination of Evagrius who was not ordain'd by three Bishops, the ordination was cassated in the Councell of Rhesium. And we read that when Novatus would faine be made a Bishop in the schisme against Cornelius, he did it *tribus adhibitis Episcopis* (saith Eusebius,) he obtain'd three Bishops, for performance of the action.

* A.D. 309.

Theodoret. l. 9. cap. 44.

cap. 1. 2.

lib. 6. hist. cap. 33.

Now besides these Apostolicall, and Catholike Canons, and precedents, this thing according to the constant, and United interpretation of the Greeke Fathers was actually done in the ordination of S. Timothy to the Bishoprick of Ephesus. [*Neglect not the grace that is in thee by the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery.*] The Latine Fathers expound it abstractly, *viz.* to signifie the office of Priest-hood, that is, neglect not the grace of Priest-hood that is

in thee by the imposition of hands, and this *Erasmus* helps by making [*Presbyterij*] to pertain to [*Gratiam*] by a new inter-punction of the words; but however, *Presbyterij* with the Latine Fathers signifies *Presbyteratus*, not *Presbyterorum*, and this *Presbyteratus* is in their sense used for *Episcopatus* too. But the Greeke Fathers understand it collectively, and *ἐπισκοπὴ* is put for *ἐπισκοποι*, not simply such, but *Bishops* too, all agree in that, that *Episcopacy* is either meant in office, or in person. *ἐπισκοπὴ τῶν ἑκκλησιαστικῶν*. So *Oecumenius*; and *S. Chrysostome*, ἡ ἐκκλησιαστικὴ ἐπισκοπὴ ἐστὶν ἡ ἐκκλησιαστικὴ ἐπισκοπὴ. So *Theophylact*, So *Theodore*. The probation of this lies upon right reason, and Catholicke tradition; For,

§ 31.
To which
Presbyters
never did
assist by
imposing
hands,

3. **T**HE *Bishops* ordination was peculiar in this respect above the *Presbyters*, for a *Presbyter* did never impose hands on a *Bishop*. On a *Presbyter* they did ever since the fourth Councell of *Carthage*; but never on a *Bishop*. And that was the reason of the former exposition. By the *Presbytery* *S. Paul* meanes *Bishops*, ὁ δὲ ἐκκλησιαστικὸς ἱερωσύνην ἔχει. *Presbyters* did not impose hands on a *Bishop*, and therefore *Presbyterium* is not a Colledge of meere *Presbyters*, for such could never ordaine *S. Timothy* to be a *Bishop*. The same reason is given by the Latine Fathers why they expound *Presbyterium* to signifie *Episcopacy*. For (saith *S. Ambrose*) *S. Paul* had ordain'd *Timothy* to be a *Bishop*, Vnde & quemadmodum *Episcopum* ordines ostendit.

ostendit. Neq; enim fas erat, aut licebat, ut inferior ordinaret Majorem. So he; and subjoynes this reason, *Nemo n. tribuit quod non accepit.* The same is affirmed by *S. Chrysostome*, and generally by the authors of the former expositions, that is, the Fathers both of the *East*, and *West*. For it was so Generall and Catholike a truth, that *Priests* could not, might not lay hands on a *Bishop*, that there was never any example of it in *Christendome* till almost 600 yeares after *Christ*, and that but once, and that irregular, and that without imitation in his Successors, or example in his Antecessors. It was the case of *Pope Pelagius* the first, & dum non essent *Episcopi*, qui eum ordinarent, inventi sunt duo *Episcopi*, *Iohannes de Perusio*, & *Bonus de Ferentino*, & *Andraas Presbyter de Ostia*, & ordinaverunt eum Pontificem. Tunc enim non erant in *Clero* qui eum posset promoveri. Saith *Damasus*. It was in case of necessity, because there were not three Bishops, therefore he procur'd two, and a Priest of *Ostia* to supply the place of the third, that three, according to the direction *Apostolicall*, and *Canons of Nice*, *Antioch*, and *Carthage*, make *Episcopall* ordination. * The Church of *Rome* is concern'd in the businesse to make faire this ordination, and to reconcile it to the Councell of *Rhegium*, and the others before mentioned, who if ask't would declare it to be invalid. * But certainly as the *Canons* did command three to impose hands on a *Bishop*, so also they commanded that those three, should be three *Bishops*, and *Pelagius* might as well not have had three, as not three

A.D. 555.

in libr. Pontificali. vit. Pelag. 1.

three *Bishops*; and better, because, so they were *Bishops* the first Canon of the *Apostles*, approves the ordination if done by two, *ἡγουμένων δύο, ἢ τριῶν*. And the *Nicene Canon* is as much exact, in requiring the capacity of the person, as the Number of the Ordainers. But let them answer it. For my part, I beleive that the imposition of hands by *Andreas*, was no more in that case then if a lay man had done it; it was *χρησάμενος*, and though the ordination was absolutely Un-canonical, yet it being in the exigence of Necessity, and being done by two *Bishops* according to the Apostolicall Canon, it was valid *in natura rei*, though not *in forma Canonis*; and the addition of the Priest was but to cheate the Canon, and cozen himselfe into an impertinent beleife of a Canonical ordination. *Ἐπισκοπὴν Ἐκκλησίαις καὶ δὲ ἐπίσκοποις*, saith the Councell of *Sardis*. *Bishops* must ordaine *Bishops*; It was never heard that Priests did, or *de jure* might.

Can. 6. Concil.
Sardis.

These premises doe most certainly inferre a real difference, between *Episcopacy*, and the *Presbyterate*. But whether or no they inferre a difference of order, or onely of degree; or whether degree, and order be all one, or no, is of great consideration in the present, and in relation to many other Questions.

1. Then it is evident, that in all Antiquity, *Ordo*, and *Gradus* were us'd promiscuously. [*ἑρμηνεία*] was the Greeke word, and for it the Latins us'd [*Ordo*] as is evident in the instances above mention'd, to which, adde, that *Anacletus* sayes, that Christ

Epist. 3.

Christ did *instituire duos Ordines, Episcoporum, & Sacerdotum*. And S. Leo affirms; *Primum ordinem esse Episcopalem, secundum Presbyteralem, tertium Leviticum*; And these among the Greekes are call'd *τρεῖς ἑκάδω*, three degrees. So the order of Deaconship in S. Paul is call'd *καλὸς βαθμὴς*, a good degree; and *βαθμὴς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς*, &c: is a censure us'd alike in the censures of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. They are all of the same Name, and the same consideration, for order, distance, and degree, amongst the Fathers; *Gradus*, and *ordo* are equally affirm'd of them all; and the word *gradus* is us'd sometimes for that which is call'd *Ordo* most frequently. So Felix writing to S. Austin; *Nō tantum ego possum contrā tuam virtutem, quia mira virtus est GRADUS EPISCOPALIS*; and S. Cyprian of Cornelius, *Ad Sacerdotij sublime fastigium cunctis religionis GRADIBUS ascendit*. Degree, and Order, are us'd in common, for he that speaks most properly will call that an Order in persons, which corresponds to a degree in qualities, and neither of the words are wrong'd by a mutual substitution.

2. The promotion of a Bishop *ad Munus Episcopale*, was at first call'd *ordinatio Episcopi*. Stirre up the Grace that is in the, *juxta ORDINATIONEM tuam in Episcopatum*, saith Sedulius; And S. Hierome; *Prophetia gratiam habebat cum ORDINATIONE Episcopatus*. *. *Neg, enim fas erat aut licebat ut inferior ORDINARET majorem*, saith S. Ambrose, proving that Presbyters might not impose hands on a Bishop. * *Romanorum Ecclesia Clementem à Pe-*

Lib 1 c. 12.

de afflictis cum

Felix Ma-

nich.

lib 4. Epist. 2.

in 1. Tim. 3.

de prescript. cap. 32. *tro* ORDINATUM edit, saith *Tertullian*; and *S. Hierome* affirmes that *S. James* was ORDAINED Bishop of *Ierusalem* immediately after the Passion of our Lord. [*Ordinatus*] was the word at first, and afterwards [*CONSECRATUS*] came in conjunction with it, When *Moses* the Monke was to be ordain'd, to wit, a Bishop, for that's the title of the story in *Theodore*t, and spyed that *Lucius* was there ready to impose hands on him, *absit* (saies he) *ut manus tua me CONSECRET.*

lib. 4. cap. 23.

3. In all orders, there is the impresse of a distinct Character; that is, the person is qualified with a new capacity to doe certaine offices, which before his ordination he had no power to doe. A Deacon hath an order or power

— Quo pocula vita

cap. 1.

Misceat, & latices, cum sanguine porrigat agni, as *Arator* himselfe a Deacon expressees it. A Presbyter hath an higher order, or degree in the office or ministry of the Church, whereby he is enabled, *μεσσηρην, ὁμιλῶν, & λειτουργῶν τὰ ἅγια ἱεραρχικῶς λειτουργῶν*, as the Councell of *Ancyra* does intimate. But a Bishop hath a higher yet; for besides all the offices communicated to Priests, and Deacons; he can give orders, which very one thing makes *Episcopacy* to be a distinct order. For, *Ordo*, is defin'd by the Schooles to be, *transmissio potestatis spiritualis, & collatio gratia, ad obeunda Ministeria Ecclesiastica*; a giving a spirituall power, and a conferring grace for the performance of Ecclesiasticall Ministrations. Since then *Episcopacy* hath a new ordination, and a distinct power (as I shall

shall shew in the descent) it must needs be a distinct order, both according to the Name given it by antiquity, and according to the nature of the thing in the definitions of the Schoole.

There is nothing said against this but a fancy of some of the Church of *Rome*, obtruded indeed upon no grounds; for they would define order to be a speciall power in relation to the Holy Sacrament, which they call *corpus Christi naturale*; and *Episcopacy* indeed to be a distinct power in relation *ad corpus Christi Mysticum*, or the regiment of the Church, and ordaining labourers for the harvest, and therefore not to be a distinct order.

But this to them that consider things sadly, is true or false according as any man list. For if these men are resolved they will call nothing an order but what is a power in order to consecration of the Eucharist, who can help it? Then indeed, in that sense, *Episcopacy* is not a distinct order, that is, a Bishop hath no new power in the consecration of the Venerable Eucharist, more then a *Presbyter* hath. But then why these men should only call this power [an order] no man can give a reason. For, 1. in Antiquity the distinct power of a Bishop was ever called an Order, and I think, before *Hugo de S. Victore*, and the *Master of the Sentences*, no man ever deni'd it to be an order. 2. According to this rate, I would faine know how the office of a *Sub-deacon*, and of an *Offiary*, and of an *Acolouthite*, and of a *Reader*, come to be distinct Orders; for surely the Bishop hath as much power in order to consecration *de Novo*, as they

they have *de integro*. And if I mistake not, that the *Bishop* hath a new power to ordaine *Presbyters* who shall have a power of consecrating the Eucharist, is more a new power in order to consecration, then all those inferiour officers put together have in all, and yet they call them Orders, and therefore why not *Episcopacy* also, I cannot imagine, unlesse because they will not.

*** But however in the meane time, the denying the office and degree of *Episcopacy* to be a new and a distinct order is an Innovation of the production of some in the Church of *Rome*, without all reason, and against all antiquity. This onely by the way.

The Enemies of *Episcopacy* call in aide from all places for support of their ruinous cause, and therefore take their maine hopes from the Church of *Rome* by advantage of the former discourse. For since (say they) that consecration of the Sacrament is the Greatest worke, of the most secret mystery, greatest power, and highest dignity that is competent to man, and this a *Presbyter* hath as well as a *Bishop*, is it likely that a *Bishop* should by *Divine institution* be so much Superiour to a *Presbyter*, who by the confession of all sides communicates with a *Bishop* in that which is his highest power? And shall issues of a lesser dignity distinguish the Orders, and make a *Bishop* higher to a *Presbyter*, and not rather the Greater raise up a *Presbyter* to the Counterpoise of a *Bishop*? Upon this surmise the men of the Church of *Rome*, would inferre an identity of order,

S. Hieron: ad
Rusticum
Narbonens:
apud Grati-
an. dist. 95.
can: ecce ego.
casus, ibid.

der, though a disparity of *degree*, but the *Men of the other world* would inferre a parity both of order and degree too. The first are already answered in the premises. The second must now be serv'd.

1. Then, whether power be greater, of *Ordaining Priests*, or *Consecrating the Sacrament* is an impertinent Question; possibly, it may be of some danger; because in comparing Gods ordinances, there must certainly be a depression of one, and whether that lights upon the right side or no, yet peradventure it will not stand with the consequence of our gratitude to God, to doe that, which in Gods estimate, may tant' amount to a direct Vndervaluing; but however it is vnprofitable, of no use in case of conscience either in order to faith, or manners, and besides, cannot fixe it selfe upon any basis, there being no way of proving either to be more excellent then the other.

2. The Sacraments, and mysteries of Christianity if compared among themselves, are greater, and lesser in severall respects. For since they are all in order to severall ends, that is, productive of severall effects, and they all are excellent, every rite, and sacrament in respect of its own effect, is more excellent then the other not ordain'd to that effect. For example. Matrimony is ordain'd for a mean to preserve chastity, and to represent the mysticall union of Christ and his Church, and therefore in these respects is greater then baptisme, which does neither. But * baptisme is for remission of sinnes and * The Nicene Creed.
in that is more excellent then Matrimony; the same

same may be said for ordination, and consecration, the one being in order to Christs naturall body (as the Schooles speak) the other in order to his mysticall body, and so have their severall excellencies respectively; but for an absolute preheminance of one above the other, I said there was no *basis* to fix that upon, and I believe all men will find it so that please to try. But in a relative, or respective excellency, they goe both before, and after one another. Thus Wooll, and a Jewell, are better then each other; for wooll is better for warmth, and a Jewell for ornament. A frogge hath more sense in it, then the Sunne; and yet the Sunne shines brighter.

3. Suppose *consecration* of the Eucharist were greater then *ordaining Priests*, yet that cannot hinder, but that the *power of ordaining* may make a *higher and distinct order*, because the power of ordaining, hath in it the power of consecrating and something more; it is all that which makes the *Priest*, and it is something more besides, which makes the *Bishop*. Indeed if the Bishop had it not, and the Priest had it, then supposing consecration to be greater then ordination, the Priest would not only equall, but excell the Bishop, but because the Bishop hath that, and ordination besides, therefore he is higher both in Order, and Dignity.

4. Suppose that *Consecration* were the greatest Clericall power in the world, and that the Bishop, and the Priest, were equall in the greatest power, yet a lesser power then it, superadded to the Bishop's, may make a distinct order, and superiority.

Thus

Thus it was said of the sonne of Man. *Constituit eum paulò minorem Angelis, he was made a little lower then the Angels.* It was but a little lower, and yet so much as to distinguish their Natures, for he took not upon him the NATURE of Angels, but the seed of Abraham. So it is in proportion between Bishop, and Priest; for though a Priest communicating in the greatest power of the Church, *viz. consecration* of the venerable Eucharist, yet differing in a lesse is *paulò minor Angelis, a little lower then the Bishop, the Angel of the Church,* yet this little lower, makes a distinct order, and enough for a subordination. * An Angel, and a man communicate in those great excellencies of spirituall essence, they both discourse, they have both election, and freedome of choice, they have will, and understanding, and memory, impresses of the Divine image, and loco-motion, and immortality. And these excellencies are (being precisely considered) of more reall and eternall worth, then the Angelicall manner of moving so in an instant, and those other formes and modalities of their knowledge and volition, and yet for these superadded parts of excellency, the difference is no lesse then specificall. If we compare a Bishop and a Priest thus, what we call difference in nature there, will be a difference in order here, and of the same consideration.

5. Lastly it is considerable, that these men that make this objection, doe not make it because they think it true, but because it will serve a present turne. For all the world sees, that to them that deny the

reall prelence, this can be no objection; and most certainly the *Anti-episcopall* men doe so, in all senses; and then what excellency is there in the power of consecration, more then in ordination? Nay is there any such thing as consecration at all? This also would be considered from their principles. But I proceed.

One thing only more is objected against the maine Question. If *Episcopacy* be a distinct order, why may not a man be a Bishop that never was a Priest, as (abstracting from the lawes of the Church) a man may be a Presbyter that never was a Deacon, for if it be the impress of a distinct character, it may be imprinted *per saltum*, and independantly, as it is in the order of a Presbyter.

To this I answer, It is true if the powers and characters themselves were independant, as it is in all those offices of humane constitution, which are called the inferior orders; For the office of an *Acolouthite*, of an *Exorcist*, of an *Offiary*, are no way dependant on the office of a *Deacon*, and therefore a man may be Deacon, that never was in any of those, and perhaps a *Presbyter* too, that never was a *Deacon*, as it was in the first example of the *Presbyterate* in the 72. *Disciples*. But a *Bishop* though he have a distinct character, yet it is not disparate from that of a *Presbyter*, but supposes it *ex vi ordinis*. For since the power of ordination (if any thing be) is the distinct capacity of a *Bishop*, this power supposes a power of consecrating the Eucharist to be in the *Bishop*, for how else can he ordaine a *Presbyter* with

with a power, that himselſe hath not ? can he give, what himselſe hath not received?

* I end this point with the ſaying of *Epiphani*, *Hæſ 75.*
us, Vox eſt Aërii hæretici unus eſt ordo Episcoporum,
& Presbyterorum, una dignitas. To ſay that Bi-
 ſhops are not a diſtinct order from *Presbyters*, was a
 hereſy firſt broach'd by *Aërius*, and hath lately
 been (at leaſt in the manner of ſpeaking) counte-
 nanc'd by many of the Church of *Rome*.

§ 32.

FOR to cleare the diſtinction of order, it is evi-
 dent in Antiquity, that Biſhops had a power of
 impoſing hands, for collating of Orders, which
 Presbyters havenot. * What was done in this af-
 faire in the times of the Apoſtles I have already ex-
 plicated; but now the inquiry is, what the Church
 did in purſuance of the *praſtiſe*, and *tradition A-*
ſtolicall. The firſt, and ſecond Canons of the Apo-
 ſtles command that two, or three Biſhops ſhould
 ordaine a Biſhop, and one Biſhop ſhould ordaine a
 Prieſt, and a Deacon. A *Presbyter* is not authorized
 to ordaine, a Biſhop is. * *S. Dionyſius* affirms, *Sa. Eccleſ. hier.*
cerdotem non poſſe initiari, niſi per invocationes E-
piscopales, and acknowledges no ordainer but a Bi-
 ſhop. No more did the Church ever; Inſomuch
 that when *Novatus* the Father of the old Puritans,
 did *ambire Episcopatum*, he was faine to goe to the
 utmoſt parts of *Italy*, and ſeduce or intreat ſome
 Biſhops to impoſe hands on him, as *Cornelius* wit-
 neſſes in his Epistle to *Fabianus*, in *Eusebius*. * To
 this we may adde as ſo many witneſſes, all thoſe or-
 dinations

For Biſhops
 had a pow-
 er diſtinct,
 and Superi-
 our to that
 of Presby-
 ters.

As of Ordi-
 nation.

Eccleſ. hier.
 6. 5.

Lib. 6. cap 33.

dinations made by the Bishops of Rome, mentioned in the Pontificall book of *Damasus*, *Platina*, and others. *Habitis de more sacris ordinibus Decembris mense, Presbyteros decem, Diaconos duos, &c. creat* (S. *Clemens*) *Anacletus Presbyteros quinque, Diaconos nostros, Episcopos diversis in locis sex numero creavit*, and so in descent, for all the Bishops of that succession for many ages together.

But let us see how this power of ordination went in the Bishops hand alone, by Law and Constitution; for particular examples are infinite.

Can. 13.

In the Councell of *Ancyra* it is determin'd *χωριστως μη εξῆναι πρεσβυτέρους ἢ διακόνους χειροτονῆν· ἀλλὰ ὁ πρεσβύτερος πάλαι, χάρις τῷ ὑποτάσσῃν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου μὲν γεγραμμένων ἐν ἑτέρᾳ παροικίᾳ.* That *Rurall Bishops* shall not ordaine *Presbyters* or *Deacons* in anothers diocesse without letters of license from the *Bishop*. Neither shall the *Priests* of the City attempt it. * First not *Rurall Bishops*, that is, Bishops that are taken in *adjutorium Episcopi Principalis*, Vicars to the *Bishop* of the diocesse, they must not ordaine *Priests* and *Deacons*. For it is *ἐν ἑτέρᾳ παροικίᾳ*, It is anothers diocesse, and to be *ἀλλοτριωσις*, is prohibited by the Canon of Scripture. But then they may with license? Yes; for they had *Episcopall* Ordination at first, but not *Episcopall* Jurisdiction, and so were not to invade the territories of their neighbour. The tenth Canon of the Councell of *Antioch* clears this part. The words are these as they are rendred by *Dionysius Exiguus*. *Qui in villis, & vicis constituti sunt Chorepiscopi tametsi manus impositionem*

tionem ab Episcopis susceperunt, [& ut Episcopi sunt consecrati] tamen oportet eos modum proprium retinere, &c. οὐδὲ χωροδικίας ἀνεπίτακτων εἰληφότες, the next clause [& ut Episcopi consecrati sunt] although it be in very ancient Latine copies, yet is not found in the Greek, but is an *assumentum* for exposition of the Greek, but is most certainly implied in it; for else, what description could this be of *Chorepiscopi*, above *Presbyteri rurales*, to say that they were χωροδικίας ἐπισκόπων εἰληφότες, for so had country Priests, they had received imposition of the *Bishops* hands. Either then the *Chorepiscopi* had received ordination from three *Bishops*, and *ἐπισκόπων* is to be taken collectively, not distributively, to wit, that each Country *Bishop* had received ordination from *Bishops*, many *Bishops* in conjunction, and so they were very *Bishops*, or else they had no more then Village *Priests*, and then this caution had been impertinent.

* But the City *Priests* were also included in this prohibition. True it is, but it is in a *Parenthesis*, with an *ἀλλὰ μὲν*, in the midst of the Canon, and there was some particular reason for the involving them, not that they ever did actually ordaine any, but that since it was prohibited to the *chorepiscopi* to ordaine (to them I say who though for want of jurisdiction they might not ordaine without license, it being in *alienâ Parochiâ*, yet they had capacity by their order to doe it) if these should doe it, the City *Presbyters* who were often dispatch'd into the Villages upon the same employment, by a

temporary mission, that the *Chorepiscopi* were by an ordinary, and fixt residence might perhaps think that their commission might extend farther then it did, or that they might goe beyond it, as well as the *Chorepiscopi*, and therefore their way was obstructed by this clause of ἀλλὰ μὴ πρεσβυτέρους πλάωσι.

* Adde to this; The *Presbyters* of the City were of great honour, and peculiar priviledge, as appears in the thirteenth Canon of the Councell of *Neo-Cæsarea*, and therefore might easily exceed, if the Canon had not beene their bridle.

The summe of the Canon is this. With the *Bishops* licence the *Chorepiscopi* might ordaine, for themselves had *Episcopall ordination*, but without licence they might not, for they had but delegate, and subordinate jurisdiction. And therefore in the *fourteenth Canon* of *Neo-Cæsarea* are said to be οἱ τῶν 70 ἐβδμήκοντα, like the 70 *Disciples*, that is, inferior to *Bishops*, and the 70 were to the *twelve Apostles*, viz. in hoc particulari, not in order, but like them in subordination and inferiority of jurisdiction: but the *City Presbyters* might not ordaine, neither with, nor without licence; for they are in the Canon only by way of parenthesis, and the sequence of procuring a faculty from the *Bishops* to collate orders, is to be referred to *Chorepiscopi*, not to *Presbyteri Civitatis*, unlesse we should straine this Canon into a sense contrary to the practise of the Catholike Church. *Res enim ordinis non possunt delegari*, is a most certain rule in Divinity, and admitted by men of all sides, and most different interests.

* How.

* However we see here, that they were prohibited, and we never find before this time, that any of them actually did give orders, neither by ordinary power, nor extraordinary dispensation; and the constant tradition of the Church, and practise *Apostolicall* is, that they never could give orders; therefore this exposition of the Canon is liable to no exception, but is cleare for the illegality of a *Presbyter* giving holy orders, either to a *Presbyter*, or a *Deacon*, and is concluding for the necessity of concurrence both of *Episcopall* order, and jurisdiction for ordinations, for, *reddendo singula singulis*, and expounding this Canon according to the sense of the Church, and exigence of Catholike Custome, the *Chorepiscopi* are excluded from giving orders for want of jurisdiction, and the Priests of the City for want of order; the first may be supplied by a delegate power *in literis Episcopalis*, the second cannot, but by a new ordination, that is, by making the *Priest* a *Bishop*. For if a *Priest* of the City have not so much power as a *Chorepiscopus*, as I have proved he hath not, by shewing that the *Chorepiscopus* then had *Episcopall* ordination, and yet the *Chorepiscopus* might not collate orders without a faculty from the *Bishop*, the City *Priests* might not doe it, unlesse more be added to them, for their want was more. They not only want jurisdiction, but something besides, and that must needs be order.

* But although these *Chorepiscopi* at the first had *Episcopall* Ordination, yet it was quickly taken from them

them for their incroachment upon the *Bishops Diocese*, and as they were but *Vicarij*, or *visitatores Episcoporum in villa*, so their ordination was but to a meere *Presbyterate*. And this we find, as soone as ever we heare that they had had Episcopall Ordination. For those who in the beginning of the 10th Canon of *Antioch* we find had been consecrated as Bishops, in the end of the same Canon, we find it decreed *de novo*: *χωρεπισκοπον ὃν καὶ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ὃ ὑπάρχοντι ἐπισκόπου*. The *Chorepiscopus* or Country Bishop must be ordayn'd by the Bishop of the Citie, in whose jurisdiction he is; which was clearly ordination to the order of a Presbyter, and no more. And ever after this all the ordinations they made were only to the inferiour Ministeries, with the Bishop's Licence too, but they never ordayn'd any to be *Deacons*, or *Priests*; for these were Orders of the Holy Ghost's appointing, and therefore were *gratia Spiritus Sancti*, and issues of order; but the inferiour Ministeries, as of a *Reader*, an *Ostiary* &c. were humane constitutions, and requir'd not the capacity of Episcopall Order to collate them; for they were not *Graces of the Holy Ghost*, as all Orders properly so called are, but might by humane dispensation be bestow'd, as well as by humane Ordinance, they had their first constitution. *

* The *Chorepiscopi* lasted in this consistence till they were quite taken away by the Councell of *Hispalus*: save only, that such men also were called *Chorepiscopi* who had beene Bishops of Cities, but had fallen from their honour by communicating in Gentile

Gentile Sacrifices, and by being *traditors*, but in case they repented and were reconciled, they had not indeed restitution to their See, but, because they had the indelible character of a *Bishop*, they were allowed the Name, and honour, and sometime the execution of offices *Chorepiscopall*. Now of this sort of *Chorepiscopi* no objection can be pretended, if they had made ordinations; and of the other nothing pertinent, for they also had the ordination, and order of *Bishops*. The former was the case of *Meletius* in the *Nicene Councell*, as is to be scene in the Epistle of the Fathersto the Church of *Alexan.* ^{tripart. bisp. lib 2. c. 12. ex Theodoret,} *aria*. * But however all this while, the power of ordination is so fast held in the *Bishops* hand, that it was communicated to none though of the greatest privilege.

* I find the like care taken in the Councell of *Sardis*, for when *Museus*, and *Eutychianus* had ordain'd some Clerkes, themselves not being *Bishops*, *Gaudentius* (one of the moderate men, 'tis likely) for quietnesse sake, and to comply with the times, would faine have had those Clerks received into Clericall communion; but the Councell would by no meanes admitt that any should be received into the Clergy *ἀλλ' ἐκείνους τὸν ἱεροδότην παρὰ τῶν αὐτῶν μὴ ὄντων ἐπισκόπων*, (as *Balsamon* expresses upon that Canon,) but such as were ordain'd by them who were *Bishops* verily, and indeed. But with those who were ordain'd by *Museus* and *Eutychianus*, *ὡς λαϊκοῖς συγκατανοήσαντες* we will communicate as with *Laymen*: *ἢ πὺρὸν ὅμοια ἐπισκόποις δίδωμεν ἐκκλησίᾳ οἱ αὐτοὶ τὰ χάρις χριστοῦ*

τοῖς κληρικοῖς, for they were no Bishops that impos'd hands on them; and therefore the Clerks were not ordain'd truly, but were πλαστικοὶ χειροτονίας, dissemblers of ordination. *Quæ autem de Museo & Eutychiano dicta sunt, trahit etiam ad alios qui non ordinati fuerunt, &c.* Saith Balsamon, intimating, that it is a rul'd case and of publike interest.

* The same was the issue of those two famous cases, the one of *Ischiras* ordain'd of *Colluthus* παρὰ τοῦ ἱεροκλήου, one that dream'd onely he was a Bishop. *Ischiras* being ordain'd by him could be no Priest, nor any else of his ordaining, ὅτι οὐκ ἦν ἐκ τῶν ἱερέων αὐτοῦ, and *Ischyras* himselve was reduc'd into lay communion, being depos'd by the Synod of *Alexandria*, ἐκ τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἱεροκλήου τῆς ἐπιτομῆς, falling from the imagination of his Presbyterate, say the Priests and Deacons of *Mareotis*; And of the rest that were ordain'd with *Ischiras*, λαῖκῳ ἡγούμενῳ, ὡς ἐκ τῆς συνήθου, saith *S. Athanasius*, and this so knowne a businesse, οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ δόξα ἀμφὶ βολοῦ, No man made scruple of the Nullity. * * The paralell case is of the Presbyters ordain'd by *Maximus*, who was another Bishop in the aire too; all his ordinations were pronounced null, by the Fathers of the Councell in *Constantinople*. A third is of the blind Bishop of *Agabra* imposing hands while his Presbyters read the words of ordination, the ordination was pronounced invalid by the first Councell of *Sevill*. These cases are so known, I need not insist on them. This onely,

In diverse cases of Transgression of the Canons, Clergy

Apud Athanasium: Apolog.
2. epist. Presb.
& Diacon:
Mareotic: ad
Curiosum &
Philagrium.

Cap. 4.

Cap. 5.

Clergy men were reduc'd to lay communion, either being suspended, or deposed; that is, from their place of honour, and execution of their function, with, or without hope of restitution respectively; but then still they had their order, and the Sacraments conferr'd by them were valid, though they indeed were prohibited to Minister; but in the cases of the present instance, the ordinations were pronounc'd as null, to have bestowed nothing, and to be meerly imaginary.

* But so also it was in case that Bishops ordain'd without a title, or in the diocesse of another Bishop, as in the Councell of † *Chalcedon*, and of † *Anti-* † Can. 6.
Can. 13.
och πῶτα τὰ ἄλλα. And may be it was so in case of ordination by a *Presbyter*, it was by positive constitution pronounced void, and no more, and therefore may be rescinded by the Counter-mand of an equall power; A Councell at most may doe it, and therefore without a Councell, a probable necessity will let us loose. But to this the answer is evident.

1. The expressions in the severall cases are severall, & of diverse issue, for in case of thole nullities which are meerly Canonickall, they are expressed as then first made, but in the case of ordination by a *Non-Bishop*, they are onely declared voy'd *ipso facto*. And therefore in that decree of *Chalcedon* against *Sinetitular* ordinations, the Canon saith; τὸς ὁ ἀπολύ-
τως χειροτονήσας ὁρῶν ἡ ἀγία συνόδος ἄνωγον ἔχει τὸ πρὸς αὐτῷ χειροτονίαν, *IRITAM EXISTIMARI manus im-*
positionem, to be esteem'd as null, that is, not to have Canonickall approbation, but is not declared null,
in

in *Naturâ rei*, as it is in the foregoing instances.

2. In the cases of *Antioch*, and *Chalcedon*, the decree is *pro futuro*, which makes it evident that those nullities are such as are made by Canon, but in the cases of *Colluthus*, and *Maximus*, there was declaration of a past nullity and that before any Canon was made; and though Synodall declarations pronoun'd such ordinations invalid, yet none decreed so for the future, which is a cleare evidence, that this nullity, viz: in case of ordination by a *Non-Presbyter*, is not made by Canon, but by Canon declar'd to be invalid in the nature of the thing.

3. If to this be added, that in antiquity it was dogmatically resolved that by the Nature, and institution of the Order of *Bishops*, ordination was appropriate to them, then it will also from hence be evident, that the nullity of ordination without a *Bishop* is not dependant upon positive constitution, but on the exigence of the institution. * * Now that the power of ordination was onely in the *Bishop*, even they, who to advance the *Presbyters*, were willing enough to speake lesse for *Episcopacy*, give testimony; making this the proper distinctive cognisance of a *Bishop* from a *Presbyter*, that the *Bishop* hath power of ordination, the *Presbyter* hath not.

ad Evagrium. So S. *Ierome*, *Quid facit Episcopus (exceptâ ordinatione) quod Presbyter non faciat*. All things (saith he) [to wit all things of precise order] are common to *Bishops* with *Priests*, except ordination, for that is proper to the *Bishop*. And S. *Chrysostome*, *Sola quippe ordinatione superiores illis sunt [Episcopi]* atq;

homil. 2. in 1.
Tim. 2.

atq; hoc tantum plusquam Presbyteri habere videntur.
 Ordination is the proper, and peculiar function of a Bishop; and therefore not given him by positive constitution of the Canon.

4. No man was call'd an heretick for breach of Canon, but for denying the power of ordination to be proper to a Bishop: *Aërius* was by *Epiphanius*, *Philastrius*, and *S. Austin* condemn'd, and branded for heresie, and by the Catholike Church saith *Epiphanius*. This power therefore came from a higher spring, then positive and Canonicall Sanction. But now proceed.

The Councell held in *Trullo*, complaining that the incursion of the barbarous people upon the Churches inheritance, saith that it forc'd some Bishops from their residence, & made that they could not *κατὰ τὸ κανὼν ἰδοὺ τὰς χειροτονίας ἐν μὲν αὐτῷ ἱερουργεῖν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἐν αὐτοῖς τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ποιῆσαι*, according to the guise of the Church, give Orders and doe such things as DID BELONG TO THE BISHOP; and in the sequel of the Canon they are permitted in such cases, *ut & diversorum Clericorum ordinationes canonicè faciant*, to make Canonicall ordinations of Clergy men. Giving of Orders is proper, it belongs to a Bishop. So the Councell. And therefore *Theodoret* expounding that place of *S. Paul* [*by the laying on the hands of the Presbytery*] interprets it of Bishops; for this reason, because *Presbyters* did not impose hands.

* There is an imperfect Canon in the *Arausican* Councell that hath an expression very pertinent to this purpose, *Ea qua non nisi per Episcopos geruntur*, Can. 20.

A a

those

those things that are not done, but by *Bishops*, they were decreed still to be done by *Bishops*, though he that was to doe them regularly, did fall into any infirmity whatsoever, yet *non sub prasentiâ suâ Presbyteros agere permittat, sed vocet Episcopum*. Here are clearly by this Canon some things suppos'd to be proper to the *Bishops*, to the action of which *Presbyters* must in no case be admitted. The particulars, what they are, are not specified in the Canon, but are nam'd before, viz: *Orders*, and *Confirmation*, for almost the whole Councell was concerning them, and nothing else is properly the *agendum Episcopi*, and the Canon else is not to be Understood.

* To the same issue is that circum-locutory description, or name of a *Bishop*, us'd by *S. Chrysostome*, ὁ μόνος ἰσχυρὸς χειροτονῶν. *The man that is to ordaine Clerks.*

heres. 75.

* And all this is but the doctrine of the Catholic Church which *S. Epiphanius* oppos'd to the doctrine of *Aerian*, denying *Episcopacy* to be a distinct order ἡ μὲν γὰρ (speaking of *Episcopacy*) ἐστὶν ἡ τῶν πατέρων ἐκκλησία, καὶ τῶν γὰρ τῶν ἑκκλησιῶν ἡ δὲ τῶν πατέρων καὶ ἀναγινώσκουσιν, speaking of *Presbytery*. *The order of Bishops begets Fathers to the Church of God, but the order of Presbyters begets sornes in baptism, but no Fathers or Doctors by ordination.* * It is a very remarkable passage related by *Eusebius* in the ordination of *Novatus* to be *Presbyter*, the *Bishop* did it διακονήσας. καὶ μὴ τῷ κληρῷ, all the whole Clergy was against it, yet the *Bishop* did ordaine him, and then certainly scarce any conjunction of the

*Euseb. lib. 6.
cap. 33.*

the other Clergy can be imagined; I am sure none is either expressed or intimated. For it was a rul'd case, and attested by the Uniforme practise of the Church, which was set downe in the third Councell of Carthage, *Episcopus unus esse potest per quem Can. 45. dignatione Divina Presbyteri multi constitui possunt.* This case I instance the more particularly, because it is an exact determination of a *Bishops* sole power of ordination. *Aurelius* made a motion, that, if a Church wanted a *Presbyter* to become her *Bishop*, they might demand one from any *Bishop*. It was granted; But *Posthumianus* the *Bishop* put this case. *Deinde qui unum habuerit, numquid debet illi ipse unus Presbyter auferri?* How if the *Bishop* have but one *Priest*, must his *Bishop* part with him to supply the necessity of the Neighbour widdow-Church? Yea, that he must. But how then shall he keepe ordinations when he hath never a *Presbyter* to assist him? That indeed would have beene the objection now, but it was none then. For *Aurelius* told them plainly, there was no inconvenience in it, for though a *Bishop* have never a *Presbyter*, no great matter, he can himsele ordaine many (and then I am sure, there is sole ordination) but if a *Bishop* be wanting to a Church, he is not so easily found.

* * Thus it went ordinarily in the stile of the Church, ordinations were made by the *Bishop*, and the ordainer spoken of as a single person. So it is in the *Nicene* Councell, the Councell of ^{cap. 19.} *Antioch*, the Councell of ^{a cap. 9.} *Chalcedon*, and *S. Ierome* who writing to *Pammachius* against the errors of ^{b cap. 2.} *Iohn* of ^{or 6.} *Ierusalem*;

rusalem; If thou speake (saith he) of *Paulinianus*, he comes now and then to visit us, not as any of your Clergy, but *ejus à quo ordinatus est*, that Bishop's who ordain'd him.

* So that the issue of this argument is this. The *Canons* of the *Apostles*, and the *rules* of the *Ancient Councells* appropriate the ordination of *Bishops* to *Bishops*, of *Presbyters* to one *Bishop*, (for I never find a *Presbyter* ordain'd by two *Bishops* together, but onely *Origen* by the *Bishops* of *Ierusalem*, and *Casarea*) *Presbyters* are never mention'd in conjunction with *Bishops* at their ordinations, and if alone they did it, their ordination was pronounced invalid and void *ab initio*.

* To these particulars addethis, that *Bishops* alone were punished if ordinations were *Vncanonically*, which were most vnreasonable if *Presbyters* did joine in them, and were causes in conjunction. But unlesse they did it alone, we never read that they were punishable; indeed *Bishops* were *pro toto*, & *integro*, as is reported by *Sozomen* in the case of *Elpidius*, *Eustathius*, *Basilus* of *Ancyra*, and *Elenus*. Thus also it was decreed in the second, and sixth Chapters of the *Councell of Chalcedon*, and in the *Imperiall constitutions*. Since therefore we neither find *Presbyters* join'd with *Bishops* in *commission*, or *practise*, or *penalty* all this while. I may inferre from the premises the same thing which the *Councell of Hispalu* expresses in direct, and full sentence, *Episcopus Sacerdotibus, ac Ministris solus honorem dare potest, solus auferre non potest*. The *Bishop* alone

Novell: con-
stit: 6. &
223. cap. 16.

Cap: 6.

lone may give the *Priestly* honour, he alone is not suffer'd to take it away. * This Councell was held in the year 657, and I set it downe here for this purpose to show that the decree of the fourth *Councell* Can: 2, & 3^e of *Carthage* which was the first that licens'd *Priests* to assist *Bishops* in *ordinations* yet was not obligatory in the West; but for almost 300 yeares after, ordinations were made by *Bishops* alone. But till this Councell no pretence of any such conjunction, and after this Councell sole ordination did not expire in the West for above 200 yeares together; but for ought I know, ever since then, it hath obtain'd, that although *Presbyters* joyne not in the consecration of a *Bishop*, yet of a *Presbyter* they doe; but this is onely by a positive subintroduced constitution first made in a *Provinciall of Africa*, and in other places received by insinuation and conformity of practise.

* I know not what can be said against it. I onely find a peice of an objection out of *S. Cyprian*, who was a Man so complying with the Subjects of his Diocesse, that if any man, he was like to furnish us with an Antinomy. * *Hunc igitur (Fratres Dilectissimi) à me, & à Collegis qui presentes aderant ordinatum sciatis.* Here either by his Colleagues he meanes *Bishops*, or *Presbyters*. If *Bishops*, then many *Bishops* will be found in the ordination of one to an inferiour order, which because it was (as I observ'd before) against the practise of Christendome, will not easily be admitted to be the sense of *S. Cyprian*. But if he means *Presbyters* by [*Collega*] then sole

ordination is invalidated by this example, for *Presbyters* join'd with him in the ordination of *Aurelius*.

I answer, that it matters not whether by his Colleagues he means one, or the other, for *Aurelius* the Confessor who was the man ordain'd, was ordain'd but to be a Reader, and that was no *Order of Divine institution*, no gift of the *Holy Ghost*, and therefore might be dispensed by one, or more; by Bishops, or Presbyters, and no way enters into the consideration of this question concerning the power of collating those orders which are gifts of the *Holy Ghost*, and of *divine ordinance*; and therefore, this, although I have seen it once pretended, yet hath no validity to impugn the constant practise of Primitive antiquity.

But then are all ordinations invalid which are done by meere *Presbyters* without a *Bishop*? What think we of the reformed Churches?

1. For my part I know not what to think. The question hath been so often asked with so much violence, and prejudice, and we are so bound by public interest to approve all that they doe, that wee have disabled our selves to justify our owne. For we were glad at first of abettors against the Errors of the Romane Church, we found these men zealous in it, we thank'd God for it (as we had cause) and we were willing to make them recompence, by endeavouring to justify their ordinations; not thinking what would follow upon our selves. But now it is come to that issue, that our own *Episcopacy* is

cy is thought not necessary, because wee did not condemne the ordinations of their *Presbytery*.

2. Why is not the question rather, what we think of the *Primitive Church*, then what we think of the *reformed Churches*? Did the *Primitive Councells*, and *Fathers* doe well in condemning the ordinations made by meere *Presbyterse*? If they did well, what was a vertue in them, is no sinne in us. If they did ill, from what principle shall wee judge of the right of ordinations? since there is no example in Scripture of any ordination made but by *Apostles*, and *Bishops*, and the *Presbytery* that impos'd hands on *Timothy*, is by all antiquity expounded either of the office, or of a Colledge of *Presbyters*, and *S. Paul* expounds it to be an ordination made by his owne hands, as appeares by comparing the two epistles to *S. Timothy* together; and may be so meant by the principles of all sides, for if the names be confounded, then *Presbyter* may signify a *Bishop*, and that they of this *Presbytery* were not *Bishops*, they can never prove from Scripture, where all men grant that the Names are confounded.

* So that whence will men take their estimate for the rites of ordinations? From *Scripture*? That gives it alwayes to *Apostles*, and *Bishops* (as I have proved) and that a *Priest* did ever impose hands for ordination can never be shewne from thence. From whence then? From *Antiquity*? That was so farre from licensing ordinations made by *Presbyters* alone, that *Presbyters* in the primitive Church did
never

never joyne with *Bishops* in Collating holy Orders of *Presbyter*, and *Deacon*, till the 4th Councell of *Carthage*; much lesse doe it alone, rightly, and with effect. So that, as in *Scripture* there is nothing for *Presbyters* ordaining, so in *Antiquity* there is much against it; And either in this particular we must have strange thoughts of *Scripture*, and *Antiquity*, or not so faire interpretation of the ordinations of reformed *Presbyteries*. But for my part I had rather speake a truth in sincerity, then erre with a glorious correspondence.

But will not necessity excuse them who could not have orders from Orthodoxe *Bishops*? shall we either sinne against our consciences by subscribing to hereticall, and false resolutions in *materia fidei*, or else loose the being of a Church, for want of *Episcopall* ordinations? * Indeed if the case were just thus it was very hard with the good people of the transmarine Churches; but I have here two things to consider.

1. I am very willing to beleive that they would not have done any thing either of error, or suspicion, but in cases of necessity. But then I consider that *M. Du Plessis*, a man of honour, and Great learning does attest, that at the first reformation there were many *Arch-Bishops* and *Cardinalls* in *Germany*, *England*, *France*, and *Italy* that joyn'd in the reformation, whom they might, but did not imploy in their ordinations; And what necessity then can be pretended in this case, I would faine learne that I might make their defence. But, which is of more, and deeper

de Eccles.
cap. 11.

deeper consideration; for this might have been done by inconsideration, and irresolution, as often happens in the beginning of great changes, but, it is their constant and resolved practise at least in *France*, that if any returns to them they will reordayne him by their *Presbytery*, though he had before *Episcopall* Ordination, as both their friends and their enemies beare witnesse.

Daneus part.
2. 1. sagog. lib.
2. cap. 22.
Perron. repl.
fol: 92. im-
press. 1609.

2. I consider that necessity may excuse a personall delinquency; but I never heard that necessity did build a Church. Indeed no man is forc'd for his owne particular to committ a sinne, for if it be absolutely a case of necessity, the action ceases to be a sinne; but indeed if God meanes to build a Church in any place, he will doe it by meanes proportionable to that end; that is, by putting them into a possibility of doing, and acquiring those things which himselve hath required of necessity to the constitution of a Church. * So that, supposing that Ordination by a *Bishop* is necessary for the vocation of *Priests*, and *Deacons* (as I have proved it is) and therefore for the founding, or perpetuating of a Church, either God hath given to all Churches opportunity and possibility of such Ordinations, and then, necessity of the contrary, is but pretence and mockery, or if he hath not given such possibility, then there is no Church there to be either built, or continued, but the Candlestick is presently removed.

There are diverse stories in *Ruffinus* to this purpose. When *Aedesius* and *Frumentius* were surprised

Ecclesiastice
lib. 10. cap. 9.
per Ruffinum.

zed by the Barbarous *Indians*, they preached Christianity, and baptized many, but themselves being but *Lay-men* could make no *Ordinations*, and so not fixe a Church. What then was to be done in the case? *Frumentius Alexandriam pergit & rem omnem, ut gesta est, narrat EPISCOPO, ac monet, ut provideat virum aliquem dignum quem congregatis jam plurimis Christianis in Barbarico solo Episcopum mittat.* *Frumentius* comes to *Alexandria* to get a Bishop. *Athanasius* being then Patriarch ordain'd *Frumentius* their Bishop, & tradito ei Sacerdotio, redire eum cum Domini Gratia unde venerat jubet ex quo (saith *Ruffinus*) in *India* partibus, & populi Christianorum & Ecclesia facta sunt, & Sacerdotium capit.

Ibidem c. 10.
 & apud
Theodoret.
 l. 1.

The same happened in the case of the *Iberians* converted by a Captive woman; postea verò quàm Ecclesia magnificè constructa est, & populi fidem Dei majore ardore sitiebant, captiva monitis ad Imperatorem *Constantinum* totius Gentis legatio mittitur: Res gesta exponitur: SACERDOTES mittere oratur qui captum ergà se Dei munus implerent. The worke of Christianity could not be completed, nor a Church founded without the Ministry of Bishops. * Thus the case is evident, that the want of a Bishop will not excuse us from our endeavours of acquiring one; and where God meanes to found a Church there he will supply them with those meanes, and Ministeries which himselfe hath made of ordinary and absolute necessity. And therefore if it happens that those Bishops which are of ordinary Ministrati-
 on

on amongst us, prove hereticall, still Gods Church is Catholike, and though with trouble, yet Orthodoxe Bishops may be acquir'd. For just so it happen'd when *Mauvia* Queene of the *Saracens* was so earnest to have *Moses* the Hermit made the Bishop of her Nation, and offer'd peace to the Catholikes upō that condition; *Lucius* an *Arrian* troubled the affayre by his interposing and offering to ordayne *Moses*; The Hermit discover'd his vileneffe, & *ita* Ecclesi: hist. lib. i. cap. 6. per Rufinum. *maiore dedecore deformatus compulsus est acquiescere.* *Moses* refus'd to be ordayn'd by him that was an *Arrian*. So did the reform'd Churches refuse ordinations by the Bishops of the *Roman* communion. But what then might they have done? Even the same that *Moses* did in that necessity; *compulsus est ab Episcopis quos in exilium truserat (Lucius) sacerdotium sumere.* Those good people might have had orders from the Bishops of *England*, or the *Lutheran Churches*, if at least they thought our Churches Catholike, and *Christian*.

If an ordinary necessity will not excuse this, will not an extraordinary calling justifie it? Yea, most certainly, could we but see an ordinary prooffe for an extraordinary calling, viz: an evident prophecy, demonstration of Miracles, certainty of reason, clarity of sense, or any thing that might make faith of an extraordinary mission.

But shall we then condemne those few of the Reformed Churches whose ordinations alwaies have beene without Bishops? No indeed. That must not be. They stand, or fall to their owne Master. And

B b 2

though

though I cannot justify their ordinations, yet what degree their Necessity is of, what their desire of *Episcopall* ordinations may doe for their personall excuse, and how farre a good life, and a *Catholike* beleife may leade a man in the way to heaven, (although the formes of externall communion be not observ'd) I cannot determine. * For ought I know, their condition is the same with that of the Church of *Pergamus* [*I know thy works, and where thou dwellest, even where Sathans seate is, and thou heldest fast my FAITH, and hast not denied my Name; Nihilominus habeo adversus te pauca, some few things I have against thee;*] and yet of them, the want of Canonick ordinations is a defect which I trust themselves desire to be remedied; but if it cannot be done, their sinne indeed is the lesse, but their misery the Greater. * I am sure I have said sooth, but whether or no it will be thought so, I cannot tell; and yet why it may not I cannot guesse, unlesse they only be impeccable, which I suppose will not so easily be thought of them, who themselves thinke, that all the Church possibly may faile. But this I would not have declar'd so freely, had not the necessity of our owne Churches requir'd it, and that the first pretence of the legality, and validity of their ordinations beene boyed up to the height of an absolute necessity; for else why shall it be called Tyranny in us to call on them to conforme to us, and to the practise of the *Catholike Church*, and yet in them be called a good and a holy zeale to exact our conformity to them; But I hope it, will so happen to us,
that

that it will be verified here, what was once said of the Catholikes under the fury of *Iustina*, *sed tanta fuit perseverantia fidelium populorum, ut animas prius amittere, quàm Episcopum mallent*; If it were put to our choice, rather to dye (to wit the death of *Martyrs*, not rebels) then loole the sacred order, and offices of *Episcopacy*, without which no Priest, no ordination, no consecration of the Sacrament, no absolution, no rite, or Sacrament legitimately can be performed in order to eternity.

The summe is this. If the Canons, and Sanctions *Apostolicall*, if the decrees of eight famous Councils in Christendome, of *Ancyra*, of *Antioch*, of *Sardus*, of *Alexandria*, two of *Constantinople*, the *Arausican* Councell, and that of *Hispalis*; if the constant successive Acts of the famous *Martyr Bishops* of *Rome* making ordinations, if the testimony of the whole *Pontificall book*, if the *dogmaticall resolution* of so many *Fathers*, *S. Denis*, *S. Cornelius*, *S. Athanasius*, *S. Hierome*, *S. Chrysostome*, *S. Epiphanius*, *S. Austin*, and diverse others, all appropriating ordinations to the *Bishops* hand: if the constant voice of *Christendome*, declaring ordinations made by *Presbyters*, to be null, and voide in the nature of the thing: and never any act of ordination by a *Non-Bishop*, approved by any Councell, decretall, or single suffrage of any famous man in Christendome: if that ordinations of *Bishops* were alwaies made, and they ever done by *Bishops*, and no pretence of *Priests* joyning with them in their consecrations, and after all this it was declared herefy to

communicate the power of giving orders to *Presbyters* either alone, or in conjunction with *Bishops*, as it was in the case of *Aerius*: if all this, that is, if whatsoever can be imagined, be sufficient to make faith in this particular, then it is evident that the power, and order of *Bishops* is greater then the power, and order of *Presbyters*, to wit, in this Great particular of ordination, and that by this loud voyce, and united vote of Christendome.

§ 33.
And Confirmation,

Epist. de Confirmatione.

* **B**UT this was but the first part of the power which *Catholick antiquity* affixed to the order of *Episcopacy*. The next is of *Confirmation of baptized people*. And here the rule was this, which was thus expressed by *Damascen*: *Apostolorum, & Successorum eorum est per manus impositionem donum Spiritus sancti tradere*. It belongs to the Apostles and their successors to give the Holy Ghost by imposition of hands. But see this in particular instance.

The Councell of *Eliberis* giving permission to faithfull people of the Laity to baptize *Catechumens* in cases of necessity, and exigence of journey; *ita tamen ut si supervixerit [baptizatus] ad Episcopum eum perducatur, ut per manus impositionem proficere possit*. Let him be carried to the Bishop to be improv'd by imposition of the BISHOPS hands. This was Law.

Epist. ad Iulianum.

It was also custome saith *S. Cyprian*, *Quod nunc quoque apud nos geritur, ut qui in Ecclesia baptizantur, per Praepositos Ecclesia offerantur, & per nostram orationem*

orationem, & manûs impositionem Spiritum sanctum consequantur, & signaculo Dominico consummentur.

And this custome was Catholick too, and the Law was of *Vniversall* concernement. OMNES Fideles

per manuum impositionem EPISCOPORUM Spiritum sanctum post baptismum accipere debent, ut pleni Christiani accipere debent. So S. *Vrbane* in his de-

cretall Epistle; And, Omnibus festinandum est sine

morâ renasci, & demum CONSIGNARI AB EPISCOPO Et septiformem Spiritûs sancti gratiam recipere, so saith the old Author of the fourth Epistle under the name of S. *Clement*. ALL FAITHFULL

baptized people must goe to the Bishop to be con-

sign'd, and so by imposition of the Bishops hands to obtaine the seven fold guifts of the Holy Ghost.

Meltiades in his Epistle to the Bishops of Spaine affirmes confirmation in this, to have a speciall ex-

cellency besides baptisme, quod solum à summis Sa-

cerdotibus confertur, becaule Bishops only can give confirmation; And the same is said, & proov'd by S.

Eusebius in his third Epistle enioyning great veneration to this holy mystery, quod ab aliis perfici non

poteit nisi à summis Sacerdotibus. It cannot, it may not be perform'd by any, but by the Bishops.

Thus S. *Chrysostome* speaking of S. *Philip* con-

verting the Samaritans, διὰ τῆς βαπτίσματος, ἡμεῖς οὖν τὴν βα-

πτίσματα ἐκείνην. ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐκείνης. ἡμεῖς δὲ τὴν δύναμιν μί-

στον τῆς δυνάμεως. Philip baptizing the men of *Sama-*

ria, gave not the Holy Ghost to them whom he had baptized. For HE HAD NOT POWER. For this guift was only of the twelve Apostles. And a little

Apud Sev. Bi-
nium id 1.
tom. Concil.

Honil. 18. in
Ad.

after

In cap. 5. de
Ecclef. hie-
rarch.

after: οὕτω ὡς καὶ ἡ Ἀποστολὴ ἐξαίρετον. This was PECU-
LIAR to the *Apostles*. Ἰδὼν δὲ τὰς κορυφαίας, ἐκ αὐτῶν πρὸς
ἐξῆς, ἰδὼν τὴν ποσειδῶνα, whence it comes to passe, that
the principall and chiefe of the Church doe it, and
none else. And *George Pachymeres*, the Paraphrast
of *S. Dionysius*; ἡγεῖα τῶν ἀρχιερέων ἔστι οἷς τὸ ἕξιον τῆς μύ-
ρῃ τῆς Καθολικῆς. αὐτῇ δὲ ὡς ἡ ἀρχαία συνήθεια. It is re-
quired that a *Bishop* should consign faithfull peo-
ple baptiz'd. For this was the *Ancient practise*.

I shall not need to instance in too many particu-
lars, for that the Ministry of confirmation was by
Catholick custome appropriate to *Bishops* in all a-
ges of the Primitive Church is to be seen by the
concurrent testimony of Councells, & Fathers; par-
ticularly of *S. Clemens Alexandrinus* in * *Eusebius*,
* *Tertullian*, *S. b Innocentius* the first, * *Damasus*,
d *S. Leo*, in e *Iohn* the third, in *S. f Gregory*, *Amphi-*
lochi in the life of *S. Basil* telling the story of *Bi-*
shop *Maximinus* confirming *Basilius*, and *Eubulus*,
the * Councell of *Orleans*, and of h *Melda*, and
lastly of i *Sevill* which affirms, *Non licere Presby-*
teris per impositionem manus fidelibus baptizan-
dis paracletum spiritum tradere. It is not lawfull for
Presbyters to give confirmation, for it is properly an
act of *Episcopall* power *Chrismate spiritus S. su-*
perinfunditur. Vtraq; verò ista manu, & ore Antisti-
tis impetramus. These are enough for authority,
and dogmaticall resolution from antiquity. For
truth is, the first that ever did communicate the
power of confirming to *Presbyters* was *Photius*, the
first author of that unhappy and long lasting
schisme

* Lib. 3. hist.
cap. 17.

a De Baptis-
mo.

b Epist. 1. cap.
3. ad Decent.

c Epist. 4.

d Epist. 88.

e Epist. ad E-
pisc. German.

f Lib. 3. ep. 9.
g Apud Grati-

an. de conse-
crat. dist. 5.

h Ibid. Can. ut
Epiſcopi.

i Concil. Hi-
ſpal. can. 7.

schisme between the *Latine*, and *Greek* Churches, and it was upon this occasion too. For when the *Bulgarians* were first converted, the *Greekes* sent Presbyters to baptize, and to confirme them. But the *Latins* sent againe to have them re-confirmed, both because (as they pretended) the *Greekes* had no jurisdiction in *Bulgaria*, nor the *Presbyters* a capacity of order to give confirmation.

The matters of fact, and acts Episcopall of confirmation are innumerable, but most famous are those confirmations made by *S. Rembert* Bishop of *Brema*, and of *S. Malchus* attested by *S. Bernard*, because they were ratified by miracle, saith the Ancient story. I end this with the saying of *S. Hierome*, *Exigis ubi scriptum sit? In Actibus Apostolorum. Sed etiamsi Scriptura autoritas non subesset, totius orbis in hanc partem consensus instar precepti obtineret. If you aske where it is written? (viz. that Bishops alone should confirme) It is written in the Acts of the Apostles (meaning, by precedent, though not expresse precept) but ift here were no authority of Scripture for it, yet the consent of all the world upon this particular is instead of a command. * * * It was fortunate that *S. Hierome* hath expressed himselfe so confidently in this affaire, for by this we are arm'd against an objection from his own words, for in the same dialogue, speaking of some acts of Episcopall priviledge and peculiar ministration, particularly, of Confirmation, he saies, it was *ad honorem potius Sacerdotis quam ad legis necessitatem*. For the honour of the Priesthood, rather then for the necessity of a law.*

C c

To

vide Anast. biblioth. prefat. in Can. 8. Synodi.

vide Opera- rum. lib. 2. S. Bernard, in vita S. Malachie. Surium. rom. 1. in Febr. dial. adv. Lu- cifer.

To this the answer is evident from his own words: That *Bishops* should give the Holy Ghost in confirmation, is written in the Acts of the *Apostles*; and now that this is reserved rather for the honour of *Episcopacy*, then a simple necessity in the nature of the thing makes no matter. For the question here that is only of concernment, is not to what end this power is reserved to the *Bishop*, but by whom it was reserved? Now *S. Hierome* saies it was done *apud Aſa*, in the Scripture, therefore by Gods Holy Spirit, and the end he also specifies, *viſ.* for the honour of that sacred order, *non propter legis necessitatem*, not that there is any necessity of law, that confirmation should be administred by the *Bishop*. Not that a Priest may doe it, but that, as *S. Hierome* himselfe there argues, the Holy Ghost being already given in baptisme, if it happens that *Bishops* may not be had (for he puts the case concerning persons in bondage, and places remote, and destitute of *Bishops*) then in that case there is not the absolute necessity of a Law, that Confirmation should be had at all: A man does not perish if he have it not; for that this thing was reserved to a *Bishops* peculiar ministration, was indeed an honour to the function, but it was not for the necessity of a Law tying people in all cases actually to acquire it. So that this [*non necessarium*] is not to be referred to the *Bishops* ministration, as if it were not necessary for him to doe it when it is to be done, not that a Priest may doe it if a *Bishop* may not be had; but this *non necessity* is to be referred to confirmation it selfe; so that

if

if a *Bishop* cannot be had, confirmation, though with much losse, yet with no danger, may be omitted. This is the summe of *S. Hieroms* discourse, this reconciles him to himselfe, this makes him speak conformably to his first assertions, and consequently to his arguments; and to be sure, no explication can make these words to intend that this reservation of the power of confirmation to *Bishops*, is not done by the spirit of God, and then let the sense of the words be what they will, they can doe no hurt to the cause; and as easily may we escape from those words of his, to *Rusticus Bishop of Narbona*. *Sed quia scriptum est, Presbyteri duplici honore honorentur predicare eos decet, utile est benedicere, congruum confirmare, &c.* It is quoted by *Gratian dist. 95. can. ecce ego*. But the glosse upon the place expounds him thus, *i. e. in fide*, the *Presbyters* may preach, they may confirme their Auditors, not by consignation of Chrisme, but by confirmation of faith; and for this, quotes a paralell place for the use of the word [*Confirmare*] by authority of *S. Gregory*, who sent *Zachary* his legate into Germany from the See of Rome, *ut Orthodoxos Episcopos, Presbyteros, vel quoscunq, reperire potuisset in verbo exhortationis perfectos, amplius confirmaret*. Certainly *S. Gregory* did not intend that his legate *Zachary* should confirme *Bishops* & *Priests* in any other sense but this of *S. Hieroms* in the present, to wit, in faith and doctrine, not in rite, and mystery, and neither could *S. Hierome* himselfe intend that *Presbyters* should doe it at all but in this sense

*caus. 11. q. 3.
can. Quod
prædecessor.*

of S. Gregory, for else he becomes an *Antistrephon*, and his owne opposite.

in Ephes. 4.

* Yea, but there is a worse matter then this. S. Ambrose tels of the *Egyptian* Priests, that they in the absence of the *Bishop* doe confirme. *Deniq; apud Egyptum Presbyteri consignant si praesens non sit Episcopus*. But,

1. The passage is suspitious, for it interrupts a discourse of S. Ambrose's concerning the Primitive Order of election to the *Bishopricke*, and is no way pertinent to the discourse, but is incircled with a story of a farre different consequence, which is not easily thought to have beene done by any considering and intelligent Author.

2. But suppose the clause is not surreptitious, but naturall to the discourse, and borne with it, yet it is matter of fact, not of right, for S. Ambrose neither approves, nor disproves it, and so it must goe for a singular act against the Catholike practise and Lawes of Christendome.

3. If the whole clause be not surreptitious, yet the word [*Consignant*] is, for S. Austin who hath the same discourse, the same thing, viz: of the dignity of *Presbyters*, tels this story of the Act and honour of *Presbyters in Alexandria*, and all *Agypt*, almost in the other words of his Master S. Ambrose, but he tells it thus, *Nam & in Alexandria & per totum Aegyptum si desit Episcopus, Consecrat Presbyter*. So that it should not be *consignat*, but *consecrat*; for no story tells of any confirmations done in *Agypt* by *Presbyters*, but of consecrating the Eucharist

Quaest. 101.
Pet. & N.
Testam. Ba-
sileae.

Eucharist in cases of *Episcopall* absence, or commission I shall give account in the Question of Jurisdiction; that was indeed permitted in *Agypt*, and some other places, but Confirmation never, that we can find else where, and this is too improbable to beare weight against evidence and practise *Apostolicall*, and foure *Conncells*, and 16 ancient *Catholic-like Fathers*, testifying that it was a practise and a Law of *Christendome* that *Bishops* onely should confirme, and not *Priests*, so that if there be no other scruple, this Question is quickly at an end.

* * But *S. Gregory* is also pretended in objection; for he gave dispensation to the *Priests* of *Sardinia*, *ut baptizatos Vguant*, to aneale baptized people. Now anointing the forehead of the baptized person, was one of the solemnities of confirmation, so that this indulgence does arise to a power of Confirming; for *Vnctio* and *Chrismatio* in the first *Arausican Councell*, and since that time *Sacramentum Chrismatis* hath beene the vsuall word for confirmation. But this will not much trouble the buisnesse.

Because it is evident that he meanes it not of confirmation, but of the Chrisme in those times by the rites of the Church us'd in baptism. For in his 9th *Epistle* he forbids *Priests* to anoynt baptized people, now here is precept against precept, therefore it must be understood of severall anoyntings, and so *S. Gregory* expounds himselfe in this 9th *Epistle*, *Presbyteri baptizatos infantes signare bis in fronte Chrismate non prasumant. Presbyters may not a-*

Can. 52.

noynt baptised people twice, once they might; now that this permission of anoynting was that which was a ceremony of baptisme, not an act of confirmation, we shall see by comparing it with other *Canons*. * In the collection of the Orientall *Canons* by *Martinus Bracarenfis*, It is decreed thus, [*Presbyter præsente Episcopo non SIGNET infantes, nisi forte ab Episcopo fuerit illi praeceptum. A Priest must not signe infantes without leave of the Bishop if he be present. Must not signe them*] that is with Chrisme in their foreheads, and that in baptisme; for the circumstant *Canons* doe expressly explicate, and determine it; for they are concerning the rites of baptisme, and this in the midst of them. And by the way this may answer *S. Ambrose* his [*Presbyteri consignant absente Episcopo*] in case it be so to be read; for here wee see a consignation permitted to the presbyters in the Easterne Churches to be used in baptisme, in the absence of the Bishop, and this an act of indulgence and favour, and therefore extraordinary, and of use to *S. Ambrose* his purpose of advancing the Presbyters, but yet of no objection in case of confirmation. * And indeed [*Consignari*] is us'd in Antiquity for any signing with the Crosse, and anealing. Thus it is us'd in the first *Arausican Councell* for extreame *Vnction*, which is there in case of extreame necessity permitted to *Presbyters*: *Hæreticos in mortis discrimine positos, Si Catholici esse desiderent, si desit Episcopus à Presbyteris cum Chrismate, & benedictione CONSIGNARI placet. Consign'd* is the word, and it was clearly in extreame *Un-*
ction,

Can. 2.

tion, for that rite was not then ceased, and it was in anealing a dying body, and a part of reconciliation, and so limited by the sequent Canon and not to be fancyed of any other consignation. But I returne. *** The first Councell of Toledo prohibites *Can. 20.* any from making Chrisme, but *Bishops* only, and takes order, *ut de singulis Ecclesiis ad Episcopum ante diem Pascha Diaconi destinentur, ut consecrum Chrisma ab Episcopo destinatum ad diem Pascha possit occurrere*; that the Chrisme be fetch't by the Deacons from the *Bishop* to be us'd in all Churches. But for what use? why, it was *destinatum ad diem Pascha* sayes the *Canon*, against the Holy time of *Easter*, and then, at *Easter* was the solemnity of publike baptismes, so that it was to be us'd in baptism. And this sense being premised, the *Canon* permits to *Presbyters* to signe with Chrisme, the same thing that *S. Gregory* did to the *Priests* of *Sardinia*. *Statutum verò est, Diaconum non Chrismare, sed Presbyterum absente Episcopo, presente verò, si ab ipso fuerit praeceptum*. Now although this be evident enough, yet it is something clearer in the first *Arausican Councell*, *Nullus ministrorum qui BAPTIZANDI recipit officium sine Chrismate usquam debet progredi, quia inter nos placuit semel in baptismo Chrismari*. *Can. 1.* The case is evident that Chrismation or Consigning with oyntment was us'd in baptism, and it is as evident that this Chrismation was it which *S. Gregory* permitted to the *Presbyters*, not the other, for he expressly forbad the other and the exigence of the *Canons*, and *practise of the Church*.

Epist. 1. ad
Decent.
Cap. 3.

Church expound it so, and it is the same which *S. Innocent* the first decreed in more expresse and distinctive termes, *Presbyteris Chrismate baptizatos ungere licet, sed quod ab Episcopo fuerit Consecratum*; there is a cleare permission of consigning with Chrisme in baptisme, but he subjoynes a prohibition to Priests for doing it in confirmation; *non tamen frontem eodem oleo signare, quod solis debetur Episcopis cum tradunt Spiritum Sanctum Paracletum*.

By the way; some, that they might the more clearly determine *S. Gregory's* dispensation to be only in baptis-mall Chrisme, read it, [*Vt baptizandos ungant*] not [*baptizatos*] so *Gratian*, so *S. Thomas*, but it is needlesse to be troubled with that, for *Innocentius* in the decretall now quoted useth the word [*Baptizatos*] and yet clearly distinguishes this power from the giving the Chrisme in Confirmation.

I know no other objection, and these wee see hinder not but that having such evidence of fact in Scripture of confirmations done only by *Apostles*, and this evidence urged by the Fathers, for the practice of the Church, and the power of confirmation by many Councells, and Fathers appropriated to *Bishops*, and denied to *Presbyters*, and in this they are not only Doctors teaching their owne opinion, but witnesses of a Catholike practise, and doe actually attest it as done by a Catholike consent; and no one example in all antiquity ever produc'd of any Priest that did, no law that a Priest might impose hands for confirmation; wee may conclude it to be a power

power *Apostolicall* in the *Originall*, *Episcopall* in the *Succeſſion*, and that in this power, the order of a *Biſhop* is *higher* then that of a *Presbyter*, and ſo declar'd by this inſtance of *Catholike Practiſe*.

THus farre I hope we are right. But I call to mind, that in the *Noſtrophium* of the old Philoſopher that undertook to cure all Calentures by Bathing his Patients in water, ſome were up to the Chin, ſome to the Middle, ſome to the Knees; So it is amongſt the enemies of the Sacred Order of *Episcopacy*; ſome endure not the Name, and they indeed deſerve to be over head and eares; ſome will have them all one in office with *Presbyters*, as at firſt they were in Name; and they had need bath up to the Chinne; but ſome ſtand ſhallower, and granta little diſtinction, a precedency perhaps for order ſake, but no preheminence in reiglement, no ſuperiority of *Juriſdiction*; Others by all meanes would be thought to be quite thorough in behalfe of *Biſhops* order, and power ſuch as it is, but call for a reduction to the primitive ſtate, and would have all *Biſhops* like the Primitive, but becauſe by this meanes they thinke to impair their power, they may well endure to be up to the ankles, their error indeed is leſſe, and their pretence fairer, but the uſe they make of it, of very ill conſequence. But curing the miſtake will quickly cure this diſtemper, That then ſhall be the preſent iſſue, that in the *Primitive Church* *Biſhops* had more power, and greater exerciſe of abſolute *juriſdiction*, then now Men

D d

will

§ 34.

And juriſdiction,

Which
they ex-
pressed in
attributes
of authori-
ty, and
great pow-
er,

*Epist. ad
Trallian.*

will endure to be granted, or then themselves are very forward to challenge.

I. Then; The Primitive Church expressing the calling and offices of a *Bishop*, did it in termes of presidency and authority. *Episcopus typum Dei Patris omnium gerit*, saith *S. Ignatius*; The *Bishop* carries the representment of God the Father, that is, in power and authority to be sure, (for how else?) so as to be the supreme in *suo ordine*, in offices Ecclesiasticall. And againe, *Quidenim aliud est Episcopus quàm is qui omni Principatu, & potestate superior est?* Here his superiority and advantage is expressed to be in his power; A *Bishop* is greater and higher then all other power, viz: in *materia*, or *gradu religionis*. And in his Epistle to the *Magnesians*, *Hortor ut hoc sit omnibus studium in Dei concordia omnia agere* EPISCOPO PRESIDENTE LOCO DEI. Doe all things in Vnity, the *Bishop* being PRESIDENT IN THE PLACE OF GOD. President in all things. And with a fullertide yet, in his Epistle to the Church of *Smyrna*, *Honora Episcopum ut PRINCIPEM SACERDOTUM imaginem Dei referentem, Dei quidem propter Principatum, Christi verò propter Sacerdotium*. It is full of fine expressi- on both for Eminency of order, and Iurisdiction. The *Bishop* is the PRINCE OF THE PRIESTS bearing the image of God for his Principality (that's his jurisdiction and power) but of Christ himselfe for his Priesthood, (that's his Order.) *S. Ignatius* hath spoken fairely, and if we consider that he was so primitive a man that himselfe saw *Christ* in the flesh, and
liv'd

liv'd a man of exemplary sanctity, and dyed a Martyr, and hath been honoured as holy Catholike by all posterity, certainly these testimonies must needs be of Great pressure, being *Sententia repetiti dogmatis*, not casually slip from him, and by incogitancy, but resolutely and frequently.

But this is attested by the generall expressions of after ages. *Fungaris circa eum POTESTATE MONO-*
RIS tui, saith S. Cyprian to Bishop Rogatianus; Ex- lib. 3. epist. 9.
 ecute the POWER OF THY DIGNITY upon the re-
 fractary Deacon; And VIGOR EPISCOPALIS, and
 AUTHORITAS CATHEDRÆ are the the words ex-
 pressive of that power whatsoever it be which S.
 Cyprian calls upon him to assert, in the same Epistle.
 This is high enough. So is that which he presently
 subjoynes, calling the Bishops power *Ecclesia guber-*
nanda sublimem ac divinam potestatem, a high and a
 divine power and authority in regiment of the
 Church. * *Locus Magisterij traditus ab Apostolis*,
 So S. Irenæus calls Episcopacy; A place of Mastership lib. 4. cap. 63.
 or authority deliver'd by the Apostles to the Bishops
 their successors. * Eusebius speaking of Dionysius,
 who succeeded Heraclas, he received (saith he) τῆς
 ἐπισκοπίας τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἡγεμονίαν. The lib. 6. hist.
 Bishoprick of the PRECEDENCY over the Churches cap. 26.
 of Alexandria. * οἷς τὸ αὐτὸ τῆς ἐπισκοπίας, saith the Can. 10.
 Councell of Sardis, to the TOP or HEIGHT of Epis-
 copacy. APICES & PRINCIPES OMNIUM, so Op-
 tatus calls Bishops; the CHEIFE, and HEAD of all;
 and S. Denys of Alexandria, *Scribit ad Fabianum* lib. 2. adv.
Vrbis Romæ Episcopum, & ad alios quamplurimos Patres.

lib. 6. hist.
cap. 26.
Homil. 7. in
Ierem.

ECCLESIAE PRINCIPES *de fide Catholica* snâ, saith *Eusebius*. And *Origen* calls the Bishop, *eum qui TOTIUS ECCLESIAE ARCEM obtinet*, He that hath obtayn'd the TOWER OR HEIGHT of the Church.

The Fathers of the Councell of Constantinople in Trullo ordain'd that the Bishops dispossessed of their Churches by inroachments of Barbarous people upon the Church's pale, so as the Bishop had in eff. & no Diocesse, yet they should enjoy τῇ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐξουσίᾳ κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἑαυτῶν the authority of their PRESIDENCY according to their proper state; their appropriate presidency. And the same Councell calls the Bishop τῇ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀρχή, the PRELATE OR PREFECT of the Church; I know not how to expound it better. But it is something more full in the Greeks Councell of Carthage Commanding that the convert Donatists should be received according to the will and pleasure of the Bishop, τὸ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τὴν κυβερνήσιν τῆς ἐκκλησίας, that GOVERNES the Church in that place. * And in the Councell of Antioch, ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀρχὴς καὶ ἐξουσίας ἑξουσίαν, The Bishop hath POWER OVER the affayrs of the Church. * Hoc quidem tempore Romana Ecclesia Sylvester retinacula gubernabat. S. Sylvester [the Bishop] held the Reynes or the stearne of the Roman Church, saith Theodoret.

hist. tripart.
lib. 1. cap. 12.

de dignit. sacerdot. c. 2.

But the instances of this kind are infinite, two may be as good as twenty, and these they are. The first is of S. Ambrose, HONOR, & SUBLIMITAS Episcopalis nullis poterit comparationibus adaequari. The HONOUR and SUBLIMITY of the Episcopall Order

der is beyond all comparison great. And their commission he specifies to be in *Pasce oves meas; Unde regenda Sacerdotibus contraduntur, merito RECTORIUS suis subdi dicuntur &c.* The sheepe are delivered to Bishops, as to RULERS and are made their Subjects; And in the next chapter, *Hac verò cuncta, Fra.* Cap. 3.
tres, idèd nos premisiſſe cognoscere debetis, ut ostenderemus nihil esse in hoc saculo excellentius Sacerdotibus, nihil SUBLIMIUS EPISCOPIIS reperiri; ut cùm dignitatem Episcopatus Episcoporum oraculis demonstramus, & dignè noscamus quid sumus ... actione potius, quàm Nomine demonstremus. These things I have said that you may know nothing is higher, nothing more excellent then the DIGNITY, AND EMINENCE OF A BISHOP, &c. * The other is of S. Hierome, *CURA TOTIUS ECCLESIAE AD EPISCOPUM PERTINET,* The care of the whole Church appertaines to the Bishop. But more confidently spoken is that in his dialogue *adversus Luciferianos; Ecclesia salus in SUMMI SACERDOTIS* Cap. 4.
DIGNITATE pendet, cui si non exors quadam & ab omnibus EMINENS DETUR POTESTAS, tot in Ecclesiis efficientur schismata, quot Sacerdotes, The safety of the Church consists in the DIGNITY OF A BISHOP, to whom vnlesse an EMINENT and UNPARALLELL'D POWER be given by all, there will be as many Schismes as Priests.

Here is dignity, and authority, and power enough expressed; and if words be expressive of things, (and there is no other use of the) then the Bishop is SUPERIOUR IN A PEEERLESSE, AND INCOMPARABLE

AUTHORITY, and all the whole Diocesse are his subjects, viz: *in regimine Spiritualis*.

§ 35.
Requiring
Univerſall
obedience
to be given
to Bishops
by Clergy
and Laity.

BUT from words let us passe to things. For the Faith and practise of Christendome requires obedience, Univerſall obedience, to be given to Bishops. I will begin againe with *Ignatius*, that these men who call for reduction of *Episcopacy* to Primitive consistence, may see what they gaine by it, for the more primitive the testimonies are, the greater exaction of obedience to Bishops; for it happened in this, as in all other things; at first, Christians were more devout more pursuing of their duties, more zealous in attestation of every particle of their faith; and that *Episcopacy* is now come to so low an ebbe, it is nothing, but that it being a great part of Christianity to honour, and obey them, it hath the fate of all other parts of our Religion, and particularly of Charity, come to so low a declension, as it can scarce stand alone; and faith, which shall scarce be found upon earth at the comming of the Sonne of Man.

But to our businesse.

S. Ignatius in his epistle to the Church of *Trallis*, *Necesse itaq; est* (saith he) *quicquid facitis, ut sine EPISCOPO NIHIL TENTETIS*. So the Latine of *Vedelius*, which I the rather chuse, because I am willing to give all the advantage I can. *It is necessary* (saith the good Martyr) *that whatsoever ye doe, you should attempt nothing without your BISHOP*. And to the *Magnesiens*, *Decet itaq; vos obedire EPISCOPO,*

PISCOPO, ET IN NULLO ILLI REFRAGARI. *It is fitting that ye should obey your BISHOP, and in NOTHING to be refractory to him.* Here is both a *Decet*, and a *Neceſſe eſt*, already. *It is very fitting, it is neceſſary.* But if it be poſſible, we have a fuller expreſſion yet, in the ſame Epistle; *Quemadmodum enim Dominus ſine Patre nihil facit, nec enim poſſum facere à me ipſo quicquam: ſic & vos SINE EPISCOPO, nec Presbyter, nec Diaconus, nec Laicus. Nec QUICQUAM videatur VOEIS CONSENTANEUM quod ſit PRÆTER ILLIUS IUDICIUM, quod enim tale eſt, iniquum eſt, & Deo inimicum.* Here is obedience Univerſall, both in reſpect of things, and perſons; and all this no leſſe then abſolutely neceſſary. *For as Chriſt obey'd his Father in all things, ſaying, of my ſelfe I can doe nothing: ſo nor you without your BISHOP; whoever you be, whether Priest, or Deacon, or Lay-man. Let nothing pleaſe you, which the Biſhop miſlikes, for all ſuch things are wicked, and in enmity with God.* But it ſeems S. Ignatius was mightily in love with this precept, for he gives it to almoſt all the Churches he writes to. Wee have already reckon'd the *Trallians*, and the *Magneſians*. But the ſame he gives to the Priests of *Tarſus*, *ἡ ἐκκλησία τῆς ταρσούσης ἐκτακτικῶς ἐκτακτικῶς.* *Ye Presbyters be ſubject to your Biſhop.* The ſame to the *Philadelphians*. *Sine EPISCOPO nihil faciſte, Doe nothing without your BISHOP.* But this is better explicated in his Epistle to the Church of *Smyrna*. *Sine EPISCOPO NEMO QUICQUAM FACIAT eorum quæ ad Eccleſiam ſpectant. No man may doe ANY THING*

THING WITHOUT THE BISHOP, *viz.* of those things which belong to the Church. So that this saying expounds all the rest, for this universall obedience is to be understood according to the sense of the Church, *viz.* to be in all things of Ecclesiastical cognizance, all Church affaires. And therefore he gives a charge to S. Polycarpe their Bishop; that he also look to it, that nothing be done without his leave. *Nihil sine TUO ARBITRIO agatur, nec item tu quicquam prater Dei facies voluntatem.* As thou must doe nothing against Gods will, so let nothing (in the Church) be done without thine. By the way, observe, he saies not, that as the Presbytery must doe nothing without the Bishop, so the Bishop nothing without them; But, so the Bishop nothing without God. But so it is. *Nothing must be done without the Bishop;* And therefore although he encourages them that can, to remaine in Virginitie, yet this, if it be either done with pride, or without the Bishop, it is spoiled. For, *si gloriatus fuerit, periit, & si id ipsum statuatur SINE EPISCOPO, corruptum est.* His last dictate in this Epistle to S. Polycarpe, is with an [*Episcopo attendite, sicut & Deus vobis*] The way to have God to take care of us, is to observe our Bishop. *Hinc & vos decet accedere SENTENTIAE EPISCOPI, qui secundum Deum vos pascit, quemadmodum & facitis, edocti à spiritu;* you must therefore conforme to the sentence of the Bishop, as indeed yee doe already, being taught so to doe by Gods holy Spirit.

Epist. ad E-
phes.

There needs no more to be said in this cause, if the

the authority of so great a man will beare so great a burden. What the man was, I said before: what these Epistles are, and of what authority, let it rest upon * *Vedelius*, a man who is no waies to be suspected as a party for *Episcopacy*, or rather upon the credit of * *Eusebius*, * *S. Hierome*, and * *Ruffinus* who reckon the first seven out of which I have taken these *excerpta*, for naturall and genuine. And now I will make this use of it; Those men that call for reduction of *Episcopacy* to the Primitive state, should doe well to stand close to their principles, and count that the best *Episcopacy* which is first; and then consider but what *S. Ignatius* hath told us for direction in this affaire, and see what is gotten in the bargain. For my part, since they that call for such a reduction hope to gaine by it, and then would most certainly have abidden by it, I think it not reasonable to abate any thing of *Ignatius* his height, but expect such subordination and conformity to the *Bishop* as he then knew to be a law of *Christianity*. But let this be remembred all along, in the specification of the parts of their Jurisdiction. But as yet I am in the generall demonstration of obedience.

The Councell of *Laodicea* having specified some particular instances of subordination, and dependance to the *Bishop*, summes them up thus, * *ὁμολογούμεν ὅτι ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ὁ μόνος ἐστὶν ὁ κύριος καὶ ὁ σωτὴρ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ὁ ὡς θεὸς ἐκκλησίαν σώζει καὶ ὡς ἰσχυρὸς ἐκκλησίαν κατασκευάζει.* *Idem videre est apud Damasum. Epist. de Chorepiscopis.* likewise the Presbyters let them doe nothing without the precept and counsell of the *Bishop*, so is the translation of *Isidore*, *ad verbum*. This Councell is ancient

Can. 19.

ent enough, for it was before the first *Nicene*. So also was that of *Arles* commanding the same thing exactly. * *Vt Presbyteri sine conscientia Episcoporum nihil faciant. Sed nec Presbyteris civitatis sine Episcopi precepto amplius aliquid imperare, vel sine auctoritate literarum ejus in Vnquaq; parochia aliquid agere*, saies the *thirteenth Canon* of the *Ancyran Councell* according to the Latine of *Isidore*. The same thing is in the first Councell of *Toledo*, the very same words for which I cited the first Councell of *Arles*, viz. *That Presbyters doe nothing without*

Epist. ad Ne-
potian.

the knowledge or permission of the Bishop. * *Esto SUBJECTUS PONTIFICI TUO, & quasi anima parentem suscipe.* It is the counsell of *S. Hierome*. *Be subject to thy Bishop and receive him as the Father of thy soule.*

I shall not need to derive hither any more particular instances of the duty, and obedience owing from the *Laity* to the *Bishop*. For this account will certainly be admitted by all considering men. God hath intrusted the soules of the *Laity* to the care of the Ecclesiasticall orders; they therefore are to submit to the government of the *Clergy* in matters *Spirituall* with which they are intrusted. For either there is no Government at all, or the *Laity* must governe the Church, or else the *Clergy* must. To say there is no Government, is to leave the Church in worse condition then a tyranny. To say that the *Laity* should governe the Church, when all Ecclesiasticall Ministeries are committed to the *Clergy*, is to say, Scripture means not what it saies, for it is

to say, that the Clergy must be *Præpositi*, and *episcopos*, and *prælati*, and yet the prelation, and presidency, and rule is in them who are not ever by Gods spirit called Presidents or Prelates, and that it is not in them who are called so. * In the mean time if the Laity in matters Spirituall are inferior to the Clergy, and must in things pertaining to the Soule be rul'd by them, with whom their Soules are intrusted; then also much rather they must obey those of the Clergy, to whom all the other Clergy themselves are bound to be obedient. Now since by the frequent precept of so many Councells, and Fathers, the Deacons and Presbyters must submit in all things to the *Bishop*, much more must the Laity, and since the *Bishop* must rule in chiefe, and the Presbyters at the most can but rule in conjunction, and assistance, but ever in subordination to the *Bishop*, the Laity must obey *de integro*. For that is to keep them in that state, in which God hath placed them.

But for the maine, *S. Clement* in his Epistle to *S. James* translated by *Ruffinus*, saith it was the doctrine of *Peter*, according to the institution of *Christ*, that Presbyters should be obedient to their Bishop in all things; and in his third Epistle; that Presbyters, and Deacons and others of the Clergy must take heed that they doe nothing without the license of the Bishop.

* And to make this businesse up compleat, all these authorities of great antiquity, were not the prime constitutions in those severall Churches respectively, but meere derivations from tradition *Apostolic*.

call; for not only the thing, but the words so often mentioned are in the 40th Canon of the *Apostles*. *ἐν πρεσβυτερίῳ καὶ διάκονοι ἀνευ γνῶμας τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς μηδὲν ἐπιτελούντω* (the same is repeated in the twenty fourth Canon of the *Councell of Antioch*) *ἀνευ τοῦ ἐπισκοπικοῦ λόγου οὐδὲν ποιήσωσι*. *Presbyters and Deacons must doe nothing without leave of the Bishop, for to him the Lords people is committed, and he must give an account for their soules.* * And if a Presbyter shall contemne his owne Bishop making conventions apart, and erecting another altar, he is to be depoled, *ὡς εἰλαρχε* (saith the 32. Canon) *as a lover of Principality*: intimating, that he arrogates Episcopall dignity, and so is ambitious of a Principality. The issue then is this. * The Presbyters, and Clergy, and Laity must obey, therefore the Bishop must governe and give them lawes. It was particularly instanc'd in the case of *S. Chrysostome*, *καὶ τὸν πάλιν τὸν ἐπισκοποῦντα τοῖς νόμοις* saith *Theodores*, *He adorned, and instructed Pontus with these Lawes*, so he, reckoning up the extent of his jurisdiction.

Lib. 5. cap. 28.

* But now descend we to a specification of the power and jurisdiction * of *Bishops*.

§ 36.
Appoint-
ing them
to be Iud-
ges of the
Clergy and
spirituall
causes of
the Laity.

THE *Bishops* were Ecclesiasticall Iudges over the Presbyters, the inferiour Clergy and the Laity. What they were in Scripture who were constituted in presidency over causes spirituall, I have already twice explicated; and from hence it descended by a close succession that they who watched for soules

soules they had the rule over them, and because no regiment can be without coërcion, therefore there was inherent in them a power of cognition of causes, and coërcion of persons. * The *Canons* of the *Apostles* appointing censures to be inflicted on delinquent person's makes the Bishop's hand to doe it.

Ἐὰν τις ἐπισβύτηρ, ἢ διάκονος ἀπὸ ἐπισκόπου γένηται ἀφαιρεσμέ- Can. 33.
νος, οὐτως μὴ ἐξέλθαι παρ' ἑτέρου διχαζέσθαι, ἀλλ' ἢ παρὰ ἀφαιρεσάντος
αὐτοῦ, εἰ μὴ αὐτὸς ἐκκλησίας πλεονέξῃ ὁ ἀφορίων αὐτὸν Ἐπι-
σκοπος.

If any *Presbyter* or *Deacon* be excommunicated By THE BISHOP he must not be received by any else, but by him that did so censure him, unlesse the BISHOP THAT CENSUR'D HIM be dead. The same is repeated in the *Nicene Councell*; only it is ^{Can. 5.}

permitted that any one may appeale to a *Synod* of BISHOPS, si forte aliquā indignatione, aut contentione, aut qualibet commotione Episcopi sui, excommunicati sint, if he thinks himselfe wrong'd by prejudice or passion; and when the *Synod* is met, hujusmodi examinent *Quæstiones*. But by the way it must be *Synodus Episcoporum*, so the Canon, ut ita demum hi qui ob culpas suas EPISCOPORUM SUORUM OFFENSAS merito contraxerunt dignè etiam à cateris excommunicati habeantur, quousq̃ in communi, vel IPSI EPISCOPO SUO VISUM FUERIT humaniorum circa eos ferre sententiam. The *Synod* of Bishops must ratifie the excommunication of all those who for their delinquencies have justly incurred the displeasure of their Bishop, and this censure to stick upon them till either the *Synod*, or their owne Bishop shall give a more gentle sentence. * * This Canon

we see, relates to the *Canon of the Apostles*, and affixes the judicature of Priests, and Deacons to the *Bishops*: commanding their censures to be held as firme and valid; only as the *Apostles Canon* names Presbyters, and Deacons particularly; so the *Nicene Canon* speakes indefinitely and so comprehends all of the Diocesse and jurisdiction.

Can. 59.

The fourth *Councell of Carthage* gives in expresse termes the cognisance of Clergy-causes to the Bishop, calling ayd from a Synod in case a Clergy-man prove refractary, and disobedient. *Discordantes Clericos Episcopus vel ratione, vel potestate ad concordiam trahat, inobedientes Synodus per audientiam damnet.* If the Bishops reason will not end the controversies of Clergy-men, his power must; but if any man list to be contentious, intimating (as I suppose out of the *Nicene Councell*) with frivolous appeales, and impertinent protraction, the Synod [of Bishops] must condemne him, viz. for his disobeying his Bishops sentence. * The *Councell of Antioch* is yet more particular in it's Sanction for this affayre, intimating a cleare distinction of proceeding in the causes of a Bishop, and the other of Priests, and Deacons.

Can. 4.

εὐ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ οὐνοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς, ἡ ἐκκλησία, ἡ δὲ ἐκκλησία τοῦ οὐνοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς ἐκκλησία &c. If a Bishop shall be deposed by a Synod (viz. of Bishops, according to the exigence of the *Nicene Canon*) or a PRIEST, OR DEACON BY HIS OWNE BISHOP, if he meddles with any Sacred offices he shall be hopelesse of absolution. But here we see that the ordinary Iudge of a Bishop is a Synod of Bishops; but of Priests and Deacons

cons the Bishop alone: And the sentence of the Bishop is made firme *omnimodo* in the next Canon; *Si quis Presbyter, vel Diaconus proprio contempto Episcopo... privatim congregationem effecerit, & altare erexerit, & Episcopo accersente non obedierit nec velit ei parere, nec morem gerere primò & secundò vocanti, hic damnetur omni modo..... Quod si Ecclesiam conturbare, & sollicitare perfitas tanquam seditiosus per potestates exteras opprimatur. What Presbyter soever refuses to obey his Bishop and will not appeare at his first, or second Summons, let him be deposed, and if he shall persist to disturbe the Church, let him be given over to the secular powers.* * Adde to this the first Canon of the same Councell, *οὗτος ὁ τῷ ἰδῷ Ἐπισκοπῇ ἀποκρίσας ἄλλως &c:* If any one be excommunicate by his owne Bishop &c: as it is in the foregoing Canons of Nice and the Apostles. The Result of these Sanctions is this. The Bishop is the Iudge: the Bishop is to inflict censures; the Presbyters, and Deacons are either to obey, or to be deposed: No greater evidence in the world of a Superiour jurisdiction, and this established by all the power they had; and this did extend, not only to the Clergy, but to the Laity; for that's the close of the Canon, *ὡς αὐτοὶ ὁ ἴδιος ἐν λαϊκοῖς, καὶ πρεσβυτέρων, καὶ διακόνων, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ.* This
 " constitution is concerning the Laity, and the Pres-
 " byters, and the Deacons, and all that are within the
 " rule, viz: that if their Bishop have sequestred them
 " from the holy Communion, they must not be suffered
 " to communicate elsewhere.

But the AUDIENTIA EPISCOPALIS, The Bishops
 Audience.

Can. 9.

Audience-Court is of larger power in the *Councell of Chalcedon*, Εἰ τις κληρικὸς ἐπὶ κληρικῷ κρίματι ἔχῃ, μὴ ὁμιλησάτω τὸ δικαίον ἐπίσκοπον, ἢ ἐπὶ κοινῇ συνέλευσι κατὰ ἑαυτόν. *If any Clergy man have any cause against a Clergy man, let him by no meanes leave his owne Bishop and runne to SECULAR COURTS, ἀλλὰ κρίνῃ τὸν ἐκείνου ἡμετέραν πρὸς τὸ ἴδιον Ἐπίσκοπον, ἢ πρὸς γινώσκοντα τὸ Ἐπίσκοπον παρ' οὗ αὐτὸν ἀμειβόμενος βύλαται, τὸ τίς δίκην ἀνυκελεύειν.* But first let the cause be examined before their owne BISHOP, or by the BISHOPS LEAVE before such persons as the contesting parties shall desire. εἰ δὲ τις ἄλλω τούτοις ποιῇ, ὁποῖοις ἀποκρίνῃ ἐκκλήσι. *Whosoever does otherwise let him suffer under the censures of the Church.* Here is not only a subordination of the Clergy in matters criminall, but also the civill causes of the Clergy must be submitted to the Bishop, underpaine of the Canon. * I end this with the attestation of the *Councell of Sardis*, exactly of the same Spirit, the same injunction, and almost the same words with the former Canons. *Ho.* *fius* the President said; *If any Deacon, or Priest, or of the inferiour Clergy being excommunicated shall goe to another Bishop πρὸς ἄλλον ἀποκρινόμενος αὐτῷ τὸ κοινῇ ἑαυτὸν τὸ ἴδιον ἐπίσκοπον, knowing him to be excommunicated by his owne BISHOP, that other Bishop, must by no meanes receive him into his communion.*

Can. 13, 14.

Thus farre we have matter of publike right, and authority declaring the Bishop to be the *Ordinary Iudge* of the causes, and persons of Clergy men; and have power of inflicting censures both upon the Clergy

Clergy, and the Laity. And if there be any weight in the Concurrent testimony of the *Apostolicall canons*, of the Generall Councells of *Nice*, and of *Chalcedon*, of the Councells of *Antioch*, of *Sardis*, of *Carthage*; then it is evident, that the *Bishop* is the Ordinary Iudge in all matters of Spirituall cognisance, and hath power of censures, and therefore a Superiority of jurisdiction.

This thing only by the way; in all these *Canons* there is no mention made of any *Presbyters assistant* with the *Bishop* in his Courts. For though I doubt not but the *Presbyters* were in some Churches, and in some times *συνδεδωται*, and *συνελευσιν* ὡς Ἐπισκοπος as *S. Ignatius* calls them; *counsellors and assessors with the Bishop*; yet the power, and the right of inflicting censures is only exprest to be in the *Bishop*, and no concurrent jurisdiction mention'd in the *Presbytery*, but of this hereafter more particularly.

* Now we may see these *Canons* attested by practise, and dogmaticall resolution. *S. Cyprian* is the man whom I would choose in all the world to depose in this cause; because he, if any man hath given all dues to the Colledge of *Presbyters*: and yet if he reserves the Superiority of jurisdiction to the *Bishop*, and that absolutely, and independently of conjunction with the *Presbytery*; we are all well enough, and without suspicion. * *Diū patientiam meam tenui* (*Fratres Charissimi*) saith he, writing *Epist. 10.* to the *Presbyters* and *Deacons* of his Church. He was angry with them for admitting the *lapsi* without his consent; and though he was as willing as a

ny man to comply both with the Clergy, and people of his Diocesse, yet he also must assert his owne priviledges, and peculiar. *Quod enim non periculum metnere debemus de offensâ Domini, quando aliqui de Presbyteris nec Evangelij, nec loci sui memores, sed neq. futurum Domini iudicium, neq. nunc prapositum sibi Episcopum cogitantes, quod nunquam omnino sub antecessoribus factum est ut cum cōsumelsâ & contemptu Prapositi totum sibi vendicent.* The matter was, that certaine Presbyters had reconciled them that fell in persecution without the performance of penance according to the severity of the Canon; and this was done without the Bishops leave, by the Presbyters [Forgetting their owne place and the GOSPELL and their BISHOP set over them] a thing that was never heard of, till that time. *Totum sibi vendicabant,* They that might doe nothing without the Bishops leave, yet did this whole affaite of their owne heads. Well! Vpon this S. Cyprian himselfe, by his owne authority alone, suspends them till his returne, and so shewes that his authority was independant, theirs was not, and then promises they shall have a faire hearing before him, in the presence of the Confessors, and all the people. *Vtareâ admonitione quâ meriti Dominus iubet, ut interim prohibeantur offerre, acturi & apud nos, & apud Confessores ipsos, & apud plebem Vniversam causam suam.* * Here it is plaine that S. Cyprian suspended these Presbyters, by his owne authority, in absence from his Church, and reserved the further hearing of the cause till it should please God to restore him to his See.

But

But this fault of the Presbyters S. *Cyprian* in the two next Epistles does still more exaggerate, saying, they ought to have ask'd the *Bishops* leave, *Sicut in prateritum semper sub antecessoribus factum est*, for so was the Catholike custome ever, that nothing should be done without the *Bishops* leave, but now by doing otherwise they did prevaricate the divine commandement, and dishonour the *Bishop*. Yea, but the Confessors interceded for the *lapsi*, and they seldome were discountenanc'd in their requests. What should the Presbyters doe in this case? S. *Cyprian* tellsthem, writing to the Confessors. *Petitiones itaq; & desideria vestra EPISCOPO servent. Let them keepe your petitions for the BISHOP to consider of.* But they did not, therefore he suspended them, because they did not *reservare Episcopo honorem Sacerdotij sui, & cathedra*; Preserve the honour of the *Bishops* chaire, and the *Episcopall* authority in presuming to reconcile the penitents without the *Bishops* leave. EpiB. 11.

The same S. *Cyprian* in his Epistle to *Rogatianus* resolves this affayre, for when a contemptuous bold *Deacon* had abus'd his *Bishop*, he complain'd to S. *Cyprian* who was an *Arch-Bishop*, and indeed S. *Cyprian* tells him he did honour him in the businesse that he would complaine to him, *cum pro EPISCOPATUS VIGORE, & CATHEDRÆ AUTHORITY haberes potestatem quā posses de illo statim vindicari*; When as he had power *Episcopall* and sufficient authority himselfe to have punish'd the *Deacon* for his petulancy. The whole Epistle is very pertinent. EpiB. 61.

Epist. 55.

Tripart. hist.
lib. 10, cap. 3.

ment to this Question, and is cleare evidence for the great authority of *Episcopall jurisdiction*, the summe whereof is in this incouragement given to *Rogatianus* by *S. Cyprian*; *Fungaris circa eum POTESTATE HONORIS TUI, ut eum vel deponas, vel abstineas, Exercise the power of your honour upon him; and either suspend him, or depose him.* * And therefore he commends *Cornelius* the Bishop of Rome for driving *Feliciſſimus* the Schismatick from the Church, *vigore pleno quo Episcopum agere oportet, with full authority, as becomes a Bishop.*

Socrates telling of the promotion, and qualities of *S. Iohn Chrysostome*, saies, that in reforming the lives of the Clergy, he was too fastuous and severe. *Mox igitur in ipso initio quum Clericis asper videretur Ecclesia, erat plurimis exosus, & veluti furiosum universi declinabant.* He was so rigid in animadversions against the Clergy that he was hated by them; which clearely shewes that the Bishop had jurisdiction, and authority over them; for tyranny is the excesse of power, & authority is the subject matter of rigour, and austerity. But this power was intimated in that bold speech of his *Deacon Serapio*, *nunquam poteris, o Episcopo, hos corrigere, nisi uno baculo percusseris Universos.* Thou canst not amend the Clergy unlesse thou strikest them all with thy Pastorall rod. *S. Iohn Chrysostome* did not indeed doe so; but *non multum post temporis plurimos clericorum pro diversis exemit causis.* He deprived, and suspended most of the Clergy men for diverse causes: and for this his severity he wanted no slanders against him; for the delinquent

quent Ministers set the people on work against him.

* But here we see that the power of censures was clearly, and only in the *Bishop*, for he was incited to have punished all his Clergy, [*Vniversos,*] And he did actually suspend most of them, [*plurimos:*] and I think it will not be believed the Presbytery of his Church should joyne with their *Bishop*, to suspend themselves. Add to this that *Theodoret* ^{*ibid. cap. 4.*} also affirms that *Chrysostome* intreated the Priests to live Canonically according to the sanctions of the Church, *quos quicumq; pravariuari præsumerent eos ad templum prohibebat accedere*, All them that transgressed the Canons he forbade them entrance into the Church.

*** Thus *S. Hierome* to *Riparius*, *Mirror sanctum Episcopum*, in cuius Parochia esse Presbyter dicitur, acquiescere furori eius, & non virgâ APOSTOLICA, virgâq; ferreâ confringere vas inutile, & tradere in interitum carnis, ut spiritus salvus fiat. I wonder (saith he) that the holy Bishop is not mov'd at the fury of *Vigilantius*, and does not beat him with his APOSTOLICALL rod, that by this temporary punishment, his soule might be saved in the day of the Lord.

* Hitherto the Bishops Pastorall staffe is of faire power and coërcion.

The Councell of *Aquileia* convoked against the *Arians*, is full and mighty in asserting the Bishops power over the Laity, and did actually exercise censures upon the Clergy, where *S. Ambrose* was the Man that gave sentence against *Palladius* the *Arian*. *Palladius* would have declined the judgement of

the Bishops, for he saw he should certainly be condemned and would faine have been judg'd by some honourable personages of the Laity. But S. Ambrose said, *Sacerdotes de Laicis judicare debent, non Laici de Sacerdotibus. Bishops must judge of the Laity, not the Laity of Bishops.* That's for the *jus*, and for the *factum* it was the shutting up of the Councell; S. Ambrose Bishop of Millaine gave sentence [*Pronuncio illum indignum Sacerdotio, & carendum, & in loco ejus Catholicus ordinetur.*] * The same also was the case of Marcellus Bishop of Ancyra in Galatia whom for heresy the Bishops at Constantinople depos'd, Eusebius giving sentence, and chose Basilus in his Roome.

Tripart. hist.
lib. 3. cap. 9.

* But their Grand-father was serv'd no better. Alexander Bishop of Alexandria serv'd him neither better nor worse. So Theodoret. *Alexander autem Apostolicorum dogmatum predicator, prius quidem revocare eum admonitionibus, & consiliis nitabatur. Cum verò eum superbire vidisset, & aperit impietatis facinora predicare, ex ordine Sacerdotali removit.* The Bishop first admonish'd the heretick, but when to his false doctrine he added pertinacy he deprived him of the execution of his Priestly function.

Tripart. hist.
lib. 1. c. 12.

This crime indeed deserv'd it highly. It was for a lesse matter that Triferius the Bishop excommunicated Exuperantius a Presbyter, viz. for a personall misdemeanour, and yet this censure was ratified by the Councell of Taurinum, and his restitution was left *arbitrio Episcopi*, to the good will and pleasure of the Bishop who had censur'd him. *Statuit quod,*
de

Can. 4. Ann.
Dom. 397.

*de Exuperantio Presbytero sancta Synodus, qui ad injuriam sancti Episcopi sui Triferii gravia & multa congeserat, & frequentibus eum contumeliis provocaverat propter quam causam ab eo fuerat Dominicâ communione privatus, ut in ejus sit arbitrio restitutionis ipsius, in cujus potestate ejus fuit abjectio. His restitution was therefore left in his power, because originally his censure was. * The like was in the case of Palladius a Laick in the same Councell, qui à Triferio Sacerdote fuerat multatus, who was punished by Triferius the Bishop, hoc ei humanitate Concilii reservato, ut ipse Triferius in potestate habeat, quando voluerit ei relaxare.*

Here is the Bishop censuring Palladius the Laick, and excommunicating Exuperantius the Priest, and this having been done by his own sole authority was ratified by the Councell, and the absolution reserved to the Bishop too, which indeed was an act of favour; for they having complain'd to the Councell, by the Councell might have been absolved, but they were pleased to reserve to the Bishop his owne power.

* These are particular instances, and made pub-

* like by acts conciliary intervening. But it was

* the *Generall Canon* and *Law of H. Church*.

Thus we have it expressed in the Councell of Aga-^{Cap. 2.}
tho. Contumaces verò Clerici prout dignitatis ordo permiserit ab Episcopis corrigantur. Refractory Clerks must be punished by their Bishops, according as the order of their dignity allowes. I end this particular with some Canons commanding Clerks to submit

submit to the judgement and censures of their Bishop, under a Canonically penalty; and so goe on ad alia.

Ca. 8.

In the second Councell of Carthage, *Alypius Episcopus dixit, nec illud pratermittendum est, ut si quis fortè Presbyter ab Episcopo suo correptus, aut excommunicatus, rumore vel superbiâ inflatus, putaverit separatim Deo sacrificia offerenda, vel aliud erigendum altare contra Ecclesiasticam fidem disciplinamq; crediderit, non exeat impunitus.* And the same is repeated in the Greeke Code of the African Canons. If any Presbyter being excommunicated, or otherwise punished by his Bishop, shall not desist, but contest with his Bishop, let him by no means goe unpunished.

Can. 10.

Act. 4. can. 83.

* The like is in the Councell of Chalcedon, the words are the same that I before cited out of the Canons of the Councell of Antioch, and of the

Post epist. Archimandrita-
rum ad Conci-
lium pro Di-
oscori rehabi-
litatione.

Apostles. But *Carosus* the Archimandrite spake home in that action. Ἐξουσιεὶ ὁ ἀλαβίστατος ἀρχιμανδρίτης ἐστὶν τῶν τῶν τετρακοσίων πατρῶν ἐν Νιζῶν συνήλθον πατρί-
ων ὡς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ὅτι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὡς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. Ἐξουσιεὶ ἐστὶν, καὶ ἐξουσιεὶ ἔχουσιν, καὶ ἀφορίσιν, καὶ ἐκδομῶν, καὶ ὁ πᾶν δόξαν, ἐξουσιεὶ ἔχουσιν πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὡς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ.

The faith of the 318 Fathers of the Councell of Nice into which I was baptized I know, Other faith I know not. They are Bishops; They have power to excommunicate and condemn, and they have power to doe what they please, other faith then this I know none.

This is to purpose, and it was in one of the foure great Councells of Christendome which all ages since

since have received, with all veneration and devout estimate.

Another of them was that of *Ephesus* conven'd <sup>Concil. Ephes.
4. 5.</sup> against *Nestorius*, and this ratifies those acts of condemnation which the Bishops had passed upon delinquent Clerks. *ὅτι ὁ ἐν ἀνόμις ᾤκησεν ὑποτάσσων*
ὁ δὲ ἀπὸς οὐκ ἔστι, ὁ δὲ ὅς ὁμοῦν ἰσοῦντος &c. They
who are for their unworthy practices condemned by the
Synod or by their OWN BISHOPS; although *Nesto-*
rius did endeavour to restore them, yet their con-
demnation should still remaine vigorous and con-
firm'd. Vpon which Canon *Balsamon* makes this
observation, which indeed of it selfe is cleare e-
nough in the Canon. *ἐν αὐτῷ ἐν μὲν ὡς ἐν ἰσότητι*
δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ Κληρικῶν αὐτῶν, ὁ ἀποκρίμῃ ἢ ὁ ὑποτάσσων
ὅτι ὅτι ὑποτάσσων. Hence you have learn'd that Me-
tropolitans and Bishops can judge their Clergy, and
suspend them, and sometimes depose them. Nay, they
are bound to it, *Pastoralis tamen necessitas habet* (ne
per plures serpant dira contagia) *separare ab ovibus*
sanis morbidam. It is necessary that the BISHOP
should separate the scabbed sheep from the sound, least
their infection scatter, so *S. Austin*. * And there-
fore the fourth Councell of * *Carthage* com-
mands, *ut Episcopus accusatores Fratrum excommu-*
nicet, That the Bishop excommunicate the accuser of
their Brethren (viz. such as bring Clergy-causes * *Can. 55.*
and Catholick doctrine, to be punished in secular
tribunalls; For Excommunication is called by the
Fathers *Mucro Episcopalis*, the Bishops sword to
cut offenders off from the Catholike communion.

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AF.4.62, 83.

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Apostles. But *Carosus* the Archimandrite spake
home in that action. Κόρυπος ὁ ἀρχιμανδρίτης
εἶπε· πῶς ἔτι τειχεύουσιν Ἀνταόκῳ ἔτι ἐν Νικαίᾳ γενόμενον πατή-
ρων ὡς τὸν ἐν τῇ ἐξιστορίᾳ, ὁ ἴσῃ. ἐπεὶ ἄλλω ὡς τὸν ἐν
ἱστορίᾳ. Ἐφιστοροῦντες εἰς, καὶ ἐξιστοροῦντες, καὶ ἀφιστοροῦντες, καὶ ἐξιστοροῦντες,
καὶ ἐν τῇ ἱστορίᾳ, ἐξιστοροῦντες ὡς τὸν ἐν ἱστορίᾳ.

The faith of the 318 Fathers of the Councell of Nice into which I was baptiz'd I know, Other faith I know not. They are Bishops; They have power to excommunicate and condemne, and they have power to doe what they please, other faith then this I know none.

since

since have received, with all veneration and devout estimate.

Another of them was that of *Ephesus* conven'd <sup>Concil. Ephes.
c. 52</sup> against *Nestorius*, and this ratifies those acts of condemnation which the Bishops had passed upon delinquent Clerks. *ὅτι ὁ ἐν ἀνόμις ἡγούμενος ἐπικληθὴς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀγίου συνάκτου, ὃ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου διακόνου ἐπιστάτου &c.* They who are for their unworthy practices condemned by the Synod or by their OWN BISHOPS; although *Nestorius* did endeavour to restore them, yet their condemnation should still remaine vigorous and confirm'd. Vpon which *Canon Balsamon* makes this observation, which indeed of it selfe is cleare enough in the Canon. *ἵνα οὖν ἐν μὴ ἐσπλάγῃ καὶ ἐν ἡμετέροις διακρίται κείνους καὶ κληρείους αὐτῶν, καὶ ἀποείμαρ ἢ καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἔστω ἐν τοῖς ἐπιστοβάλλουσιν.* Hence you have learn'd that Metropolitans and Bishops can judge their Clergy, and suspend them, and sometimes depose them. Nay, they are bound to it, *Pastoralis tamen necessitas habet* (ne per plures serpant dira contagia.) *separare ab ovibus sanis morbidam.* It is necessary that the BISHOP should separate the scabbed sheep from the sound, least their infection scatter, so *S. Austin*. * And therefore the fourth Councell of * *Carthage* commands, *ut Episcopus accusatores Fratrum excommunicet*, That the Bishop excommunicate the accuser of their Brethren (viz. such as bring Clergy-causes * *Can. 55.* and Catholick doctrine, to be punished in secular tribunalls,) For Excommunication is called by the Fathers *Mucro Episcopalis*, the Bishops sword to cut offenders off from the Catholike communion.

ubi *supra*.
cap. 3.

I adde no more but that excellent saying of S. *An-
stin*, which doth freely attest both the preceptive,
and vindictive power of the Bishop over his whole
Diocesse. *Ergo precipiant tantummodò nobis quid
facere debeamus qui nobis præsumunt, & faciamus orent
pro nobis, non autem nos corripiant, & arguant, si
non fecerimus. Imò omnia fiant, quoniam Dñi res
Ecclesiarum Apostoli omnia faciebant, & precipie-
bant quæ fierent, & corripiebant si non fierent &c.*

Cap. 15 *ibid.*

And againe; *Corripiantur itaq; à præpositis suis sub-
diti correptionibus de charitate venientibus pro cul-
parum diversitate diversis, vel minoribus, vel am-
plioribus, quia & ipsa quæ damnatio nominatur quam
facit Episcopale iudicium, quæ pænâ in Ecclesiâ nulla
major est, potest, si Deus voluerit, in correptionem sa-
luberrimam cedere, atq; proficere.* Here the Bishops
have a power acknowledged in them to command
their Diocesse, and to punish the disobedient, and
of excommunication by way of proper Ministry,
[*damnatio quam facit Episcopale iudicium*] a con-
demnation of the Bishops infliction.

Thus it is evident by the constant practise of Pri-
mitive Christendome, by the Canons of three
Generall Councils, and divers other Provinciall,
which are made Catholick by adoption, and in-
serting them into the Code of the Catholick
Church, that the Bishop was Iudge of his Clergy,
and of the Lay-people of his Diocesse; that he had
power to inflict censures upon them in case of de-
linquency; that his censures were firme and valid;
and as yet we find no Presbyters joyning either in
com-

commission, or fact; in power, or exercise: but excommunication and censures to be appropriated to Bishops and to be only dispatch't by them, either in full Councell, if it was a Bishops cause, or in his own Consistory, if it was the cause of a Priest, or the inferior Clergy, or a Laick, unless in cases of appeal, and then it was in *pleno Concilio Episcoporum*, in a Synod of Bishops; And all this was confirmed by secular authority, as appears in the Imperiall Constitutions.

Novel. con-
stit. 123. c.
11.

For the making up this Paragraph complete, I must insert two considerations. First concerning universality of causes within the Bishops cognisance. And secondly of Persons.

The Ancient Canons asserting the Bishops power in *Cognitione causarum* speake in most large, and comprehensive termes. *ὅτι ἐν τῇ δίκῃ αὐτῶν ἐξουσία ἔχοντες*. They have power to doe what they list. Their power is as large as their will. So the Councell of Chalcedon before cited. It was no larger though, then S. Pauls expression, [for to this end also did I write, that I might know the prooffe of you, whether ye be obedient IN ALL THINGS.] A large extent of power when the Apostles expected an Universall obedience. *ἐν παντί*. And so the stile of the Church runne in descention, *ὅτι οὐδὲν ποιῆτε ἄνευ κυρίου ἡμῶν*, so Ignatius, ye must doe NOTHING without your BISHOP, *ὅτι οὐδὲν ποιῆτε ἄνευ τοῦ ἀντιπάλιν*, to contradict him in NOTHING. The expression is frequent in him, *ὅτι ὅλα ἅπαντα ἐν κυρίῳ διαλαμβάνετε*, to comprehend all things in

2. Corin. 12. 9.

ubi supra.

Ca. 9.

his judgement, or cognifance, fo the Councell of *Antioch*.

* But thefe Universall expreffions muft be understood *fecundum Materiam subjectam*, fo *S. Ignatius* expreffes himfelfe. Ye muft without your *Bifhop* doe nothing; nothing *ἡ ἀναγκὴν εἰς τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν*, of things pertaining to the Church. So alfo the Councell of *Antioch*, τὰ τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ, The things of the Church, are τῷ Ἐπισκόπῳ τῷ πρὸς δούλους πάντα τὰ λατὴν committed to the Bifhop to whom all the people is intrusted. They are Ecclesiasticall perfons, it is an Ecclesiasticall power they are indowed with, it is for a spirituall end, viz. the regiment of the Church, and the good of foules, and therefore only those things which are in this order are of Episcopall cognifance. And what things are thofe?

1. Then, it is certaine that fince *Christ* hath professed, his Kingdome is not of this world, that government which he hath constituted *de novo* does no way in the world make any intrenchment upon the Royalty.

Hostis Herodes impie

Christum venire quid times?

Non eripit mortalia

Qui regna dat Cælestia. So the Church us'd to fing. Whatsoever therefore the secular tribunall did take cognifance of before it was Christian, the same it takes notice of after it is Christianed. And these are; all actions civill, all publike violations of justice, all breach of Municipall lawes. These the Church hath nothing to doe with, unlesse by the favour

favour of Princes and common-wealths it be indulged to them *in honorem Dei & S. Matris Ecclesiae*; but then when it is once indulged, that act which does annull such pious vowes, is just contrary to that religion which first gave them, and then unlesse there was sinne in the donative, the ablation of it is *contra honorem Dei & S. Matris Ecclesiae*. But this it may be is impertinent.

2. The *Bishops ALL*, comes in after this; And he is judge of all those causes which Christianity hath brought in upon a new stock, by it's *new distinctive Principles*. I say, by it's *new Principles*; for there where it extends justice, and pursues the lawes of nature, there the secular tribunall is also extended if it be Christian; The *Bishop* gets nothing of that: But those things which Christianity (as it prelcinds from the interest of the republike) hath introduc'd all them, and all the causes emergent from them the *Bishop* is judge of. Such are causes of *faith*, *Ministration of Sacraments*, and *Sacramentals*, *subordination of inferiour Clergy to their Superiour*, *censures*, *irregularities*, *Orders hierarchicall*, *rites and ceremonies*, *liturgyes*, and *publike formes of prayer*, (as is famous in the Ancient story of *Ignatius* teaching his Church the first use of *Antiphona's* and *Doxologyes*, and thence was deriv'd to all Churches of Christendome) and all such things as are in immediate dependance of these, as *dispensation of Church Vessels*, and *Ornaments*, and *Goods*, receiving and disposing the Patrimony of the Church, and whatsoever is of the same consideration, according to the

*tripart. hist.
lib. 10. cap. 9.*

41 *Canon of the Apostles. Præcipimus ut in potestate suâ Episcopus Ecclesia res habeat. Let the Bishop have the disposing the goods of the Church; adding this reason. Si enim anima hominum pretiosa illi sint credita, multò magis eum oportet curam pecuniarum gerere. He that is intrusted with our pretious soules, may much more be intrusted with the offertories of faithfull people.*

3. There are somethings of a mixt nature; and something of the secular interest, and something of the Ecclesiasticall concur to their constitution, and these are of double cognifance: the secular power, and the Ecclesiasticall doe both in their severall capacities take knowledge of them. Such are the delinquencies of Clergy-men, who are both Clergy, and subjects too; *Clerus Domini*, and *Regis subditi*; and for their delinquencies which are in *materia justitiæ* the secular tribunall punishes as being a violation of that right which the State must defend, but because done by a person who is a member of the sacred hierarchy, and hath also an obligation of speciall duty to his Bishop, therefore the Bishop also may punish him; And when the commonwealth hath inflicted a penalty, the Bishop also may impose a censure, for every sinne of a Clergy-man is two. But of this nature also are the convening of Synods, the power whereof is in the King, and in the Bishop severally, insomuch as both the Church and the commonwealth in their severall respects have peculiar interest; The commonwealth for preservation of peace and charity, in which religion hath the deepest

deepest interest, and the Church, for the maintenance of faith. And therefore both Prince and Bishop have indicted Synods in severall ages, upon the exigence of severall occasions, and have severall powers for the engagement of Clericall obedience, and attendance upon such solemnities.

4. Because Christianity is after the commonwealth, and is a capacity superadded to it, therefore those things which are of mixt cognisance are chiefly in the *King*; The *Supremacy* here is his, and so it is in all things of this nature, which are called [*Ecclesiasticall*] because they are *in materia Ecclesie, ad finem religionis*, but they are of a different nature, and use from things [*Spirituell*] because they are not issues of those things which Christianity hath introduc'd *de integro*, and are separate from the interest of the commonwealth in it's particular capacity, for such things only, are properly spirituall.

5. The *Bishops* jurisdiction hath a compulsory deriv'd from Christ only, *viz.* infliction of censures by excommunications, or other *minores plage* which are in order to it. But yet this internall compulsory through the duty of good Princes to God, and their favour to the Church, is assisted by the secular arme, either superadding a temporall penalty in case of contumacy, or some other way abetting the censures of the Church, and it ever was so since commonwealths were Christian. So that ever since then, Episcopall Jurisdiction hath a double part; an externall, and an internall; this is deriv'd from Christ, that from the King, which because it is concurrent:

current in all acts of Iurisdiction, therefore it is, that the King is supreme of the Iurisdiction, *viz.* that part of it which is the externall compulsory.

* * * *

* And for this cause we shall sometimes see the Emperour, or his Prefect, or any man of consular digniry sic Iudge when the Question is of Faith, not that the Prefect was to Iudge of that, or that the *Bishops* were not; But in case of the perversity of a peevish heretick who would not submit to the power of the Church, but flew to the secular power for assistance, hoping by taking sanctuary there, to engage the favour of the Prince: In this case the *Bishops* also appealed thither, not for resolution, but assistance, and sustentation of the Church's power.

Tripart. hist.
lib. 5. c. 35.

* It was so in the case of *Aëtius* the *Arian*, & *Honoratus* the Prefect, *Constantius* being Emperour. For, all that the Prefect did, or the Emperour in this case, was by the prevalency of his intervening authority to reconcile the disagreeing parties, and to encourage the Catholikes; but the precise act of Iudicature even in this case was in the *Bishops*, for they deposed *Aëtius* for his heresie, for all his confident appeale, and *Macedonius*, *Eleusius*, *Basilus*, *Ortasius*, and *Dracontius* for personall delinquencies. * And all this is but to reconcile this act to the resolution, and assertion of *S. Ambrose*, who refus'd to be tryed in a cause of faith by *Lay-Iudges*, though *Delegates of the Emperour*. *Quando audisti (Clementissime Imperator) in causâ fidei Laicos de Episcopo iudicasse?* When was it ever knowne that *Lay-men* in a cause of Faith

S. Ambros. Epist. lib. 2.
Epist. 13.

Faith did judge a Bishop? To be sure, it was not in the case of *Honoratus* the Prefect; for if they had appealed to him, or to his Master *Constantius* for judgment of the Article, and not for incouragement and secular assistance, *S. Ambrose* his confident Question of [*Quando audisti?*] had quickly been answered, even with saying, presently after the Councell of *Ariminum* in the case of *Aëtius*, and *Honoratus*.

* Nay it was one of the causes why *S. Ambrose* deposed *Palladius* in the Councell of *Aquileia*, because he refused to answer, except it were before some honourable personages of the Laity. And it is observable that the *Arians* were the first (and indeed they offer'd at it often) that did desire Princes to judge matters of faith, for they despayring of their cause in a Conciliary triall, hoped to ingage the Emperour on their party, by making him Umpire. But the Catholike *Bishops* made humble, and faire remonstrance of the distinction of powers, and Iurisdicktions; and as they might not intrench upon the Royalty, so neither betray thar right which Christ credited to them to the incroachment of an exterior jurisdiction and power. It is a good story that *Suidas* tells of *Leontius Bishop of Tripolis in Lydia*, a ^{in verbo} man so famous and exemplary, that he was call'd ^{Λεόντιος} *ἡ ἐκκλησία* ^{ἡ ἐκκλησία} *ἡ ἐκκλησία*, the rule of the Church that when *Constantius* the Emperour did preside amongst the *Bishops*, and undertooke to determine causes of meere spirituall cognifance, instead of a *Placet*, he gave this answer, *δαμάσω ἐπὶ ὅπως ἐπεὶ δίδωνται ταχέως, ἐπίσει ἐπὶ χροῖς. ἐκκλησιαστικῶν μὲν, καὶ πολιτικῶν πραγμάτων*
H h σεν

οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκείνους ὅ ἐστι καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐκείνους ἵσχυον δια-
 ταλίσαι. + ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκείνους μὴ δύναται + ἐν τοῖς τοῖς.
 τῶν ἑδὴ διατάσσων. I wonder that thou being set over
 things of a different nature, medlest with those things
 that only appertaine to Bishops. The MILITIA, and
 the POLITIA are thine, but matters of FAITH, and
 SPIRIT, are of EPISCOPALL cognisance. τῶν μὲν δὲ
 αἰσθητῶν ἰσχυρῶν. Such was the freedome of the in-
 genuous LEONTIUS. Answerable to which, was that
 Christian and faire acknowledgement of Valentinian
 when the Arian Bishops of Bithynia & the Hellespont
 sent Hypatianus their legate to desire him, ut digna-
 retur ad emendationem dogmatis interesse, that he
 would be pleas'd to mend the Article. Respondens Va-
 lentinianus, ait, *Mihi quidem quum unus de populo*
sim fas non est talia perscrutari. Verum Sacerdotes
apud se ipsos congregentur ubi voluerint. Cumq̃ hac
respondisset Princeps in Lampsacum convenerunt E-
piscopi. So Sozomen reports the story. The Empe-
 rour would not meddle with matters of faith, but
 referred the deliberation, and decision of them to
 the Bishops to whom by God's law they did apper-
 taine; Upon which intimation given, the Bishops
 conven'd in Lampsacum. And thus a double power
 met in the Bishops. A divine right to decide the ar-
 ticle. *Mihi fas non est*, (saith the Emperour) *it is*
not lawfull for me to meddle; And then a right from
 the Emperour to assemble, for he gave them leave to
 call a Councell. These are two distinct powers,
 One from Christ, the other from the Prince. * * *

hist. tripart.
 lib. 7. c. 12.

And now upon this occasion, I have faire oppor-
 tunity

tunity to insert a consideration, The *Bishops* have power over all causes emergent in their diocesses; all, (I meane) in the sense above explicated; they have power to inflict censures, excommunication is the highest, the rest are parts of it, and in order to it. Whether or no must Church-censures be used in all such causes as they take cognisance of, or may not the secular power find out some externall compulsory in stead of it, and forbid the Church to use excommunication, in certaine cases?

1. To this, I answer, that if they be such cases in which by the law of Christ they may, or such in which they must use excommunication, then, in these cases no power can forbid them. For what power Christ hath given them, no man can take away.

2. As no humane power can disrobe the Church of the power of excommunication; so no humane power can invest the Church with a lay Compulsory. For if the Church be not capable of a *jus gladij*, as most certainly shee is not, the Church cannot receive power to put men to death, or to inflict lesser paines in order to it, or any thing above a salutary penance; I meane in the formality of a Church-tribunall, then they give the Church what shee must not, cannot take. I deny not but Clergy men are as capable of the power of life and death, as any men; but not in the formality of Clergymen. A Court of life and death, cannot be an Ecclesiasticall tribunall; and then if any man, or company of Men should perswade the Church not to

inflict her censures upon delinquents, in some cases in which shee might lawfully inflict them, and pretend to give her another compulsory; they take away the Church-consistory, and erect a very secular Court, dependant on themselves, and by consequence to be appeal'd to from themselves, and so also to be prohibited as the Lay-Superiour shall see cause for. * Whoever therefore should be consenting to any such permutation of power, is *traditor potestatis quam S. Mater Ecclesia à sponso suo acciperat*, he betrays the individuall, and inseparable right of holy Church. For her censures shee may inflict upon her delinquent children without asking leave. Christ is her *avertia* for that, he is her warrant and security. The other is beg'd, or borrow'd, none of her owne, nor of a fit edge to be us'd in her abscissions, and coërcions. * I end this consideration with that memorable *Canon* of the *Apostles* of so frequent use in this Question, *πάντοι τῷ Ἐκκλησιαστικῷ μεγάλῳ ἐ ἐπίσκοπῳ ἔχτω τὴν ἐξουσίαν*. Let the Bishop have the care or provision for all affaires of the Church, and let him dispense them *velut Deo contemplante* as in the sight of God, to whom he must be responsive for all his Diocesse.

Can. 39.

The next Consideration concerning the *Bishop's* jurisdiction is of what persons he is ludge? And because our Scene lyes here in Church-practice I shall only set downe the doctrine of the Primitive Church in this affaire, and leave it under that representation.

Presbyters, and Deacons, and inferiour Clerks, and the

the Laity are already involved in the precedent *Ca-*
nons; No man there, was exempted of whose soule
any *Bishop* had charge. And all Christs sheepe
heare his voice, and the call of his sheap-heard-Mi-
nisters. * *Theodore* tells a story that when the *Bi-*
shops of the Province were assembled by the com-
mand of *Valentinian* the Emperour for the choice
of a Successor to *Auxentius* in the See of *Milayne*,
the Emperour wished them to be carefull in the
choice of a *Bishop*, in these words, *καὶ πῶς οὐκ ἔστιν* *Theodoret.*
τοῖς ἀρχιερεσὶν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ δοῦναι, ὅπως ἡμῶς διὰ τοῦ Ca- *lib. 4. c. 5.*
σιλίου ἰδιότητος ἐκκενῶς αὐτῷ τῆς ἡμετέρας ὑπακοῆς κα-
ταδῆς. Set such an one in the Archiepiscopall throne,
that we who rule the Kingdome may sincerely submit
our head unto him, viz: in matters of spirituall im-
port. * And since all power is deriv'd from Christ,
who is a King, and a Priest, and a Prophet, Christi-
an Kings are *Christi Domini*, and Vicars in his Re-
gall power, but *Bishops* in his Sacerdotall, and Pro-
pheticall. * So that the King hath a Supreme Re-
gall power in caules of the Church, ever since his
Kingdome became Christian, and it consists in all
things, in which the Priestly office is not precisely
by Gods law imployed for regiment, and cure of
soules, and in these also, all the externall compulso-
ry and jurisdiction in his owne. For when his Sub-
jects became Christian Subjects, himselfe also upon
the same termes becomes a Christian Ruler, and in
both capacities he is to rule, viz: both as Subjects,
and as Christian Subjects, except only in the pre-
cise issues of Sacerdotall authority. And therefore

the Kingdome, and the Priesthood are excelled by each other in their severall capacities. For superiority is usually expressed in three words, *ὑπεροχὴ, ἀρχή, and ἐξουσία. Excellency, Impery, and Power.* The King is supreme to the Bishop in *Impery*; The Bishop hath an *Excellency*, viz. of Spirituall Ministration which Christ hath not concredited to the King; but in *Power*, both *King*, and *Bishop* have it distinctly in severall capacity, the King in *potentiâ gladii*, the Bishop in *potestate clavium*. The Sword, and the Keyes are the emblems of their distinct power. Something like this is in the third Epistle of *S. Clement* translated by *Ruffinus*. *Quid enim in presentî seculo prophetâ gloriosius, Pontifice clarius, Rege sublimius?* King, and Priest, and Prophet, are in their severall excellencies, the Highest powers under heaven. * * * In this sense it is easy to understand those expressions often used in Antiquity, which might seem to make intrenchment upon the sacrednesse of Royall prerogatives; were not both the piety, and sense of the Church sufficiently cleare in the issues of her humblest obedience. * And this

Epist. ad Philadelph.

is the sense of *S. Ignatius* that holy Martyr, and disciple of the Apostles: *Diaconi, & reliquus Clerus, unâ cum populo Vniverſo, Militibus, Principibus, & Casare, ipsi Episcopo pareant.* Let the Deacons and all the Clergy, and all the people, the Souldiers, the Princes, and Caesar himselfe obey the Bishop. *

Lib. de dignit. Sacerd. cap. 2.

This is it, which *S. Ambrose* said; *Sublimitas Episcopalis nullis poterit comparationibus adæquari. Si Regum fulgori compares, & Principum diademati, erit*

vis inferius &c. This also was acknowledged by the great *Constantine*, that most blessed Prince, *Deus vos constituit Sacerdotes, & potestatem vobis dedit, de nobis quoque judicandi, & ideo nos à vobis rectè judicamur. Vos autem non potestis ab hominibus judicari, [viz. secularibus, and in causis simplicis religionis.]* So that good Emperour in his oration to the *Nicene Fathers*. Lib. 10. Eccles. hist. c. 2.

It was a famous contestation that *S. Ambrose* had with *Auxentius* the *Arian* pretending the Emperours command to him to deliver up some certain Churches in his Diocese to the *Arians*. His answer was, that *Palaces* belong'd to the Emperour, but Churches to the Bishop; and so they did, by all the lawes of Christendome. The like was in the case of *S. Athanasius*, and *Constantius* the Emperour, exactly the same *per omnia*, as it is related by *Ruffinus*. * *S. Ambrose* his sending his Deacon to the Emperour, to desire him to goe forth of the *Cancelli*, in his Church at *Millain*, shewes that then the powers were so distinct, that they made no intrenchment upon each other. * It was no greater power, but a more considerable act, and higher exercise, the forbidding the communion to *Theodosius*, till he had by repentance, washed out the blood that stuck upon him ever since the Massacre at *Theſsalonica*. It was a wonderfull concurrence of piety in the Emperour, and resolution and authority in the Bishop. But he was not the first that did it; For *Philip* the Emperour was also guided by the Pastorall rod, and the severity of the Bishop. *De hoc traditum est nobis, quod* Theodor. lib. 5. c. 18. Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 25.

quod Christianus fuerit, & in die Pascha, i.e. in ipsis vigiliis cum interesse voluerit, & communicare mysteriis, ab Episcopo loci non prius esse permiffum, nisi confiteretur peccata, & inter penitentes staret, nec ullo modo sibi copiam mysteriorum futuram nisi prius per penitentiam, culpas qua de eo ferebantur plurima, deluisset. The Bishop of the place would not let him communicate till hee had wash't away his sinnes by repentance. And the Emperour did so. Ferunt igitur libenter eum quod à Sacerdote imperatum fuerat, suscepisse. He did it willingly, undertaking the impositions laid upon him by the Bishop.

Homil. 83. in
26. Matth.

I doubt not but all the world believes the dispensation of the Sacraments intirely to belong to Ecclesiasticall Ministry. It was S. Chrysostomes command to his Presbyters, to reject all wicked persons from the holy Communion. "If he be a Captaine, a Consull, or a Crowned King that cometh unworthily, forbid him and keep him off, thy power is greater then his. If thou darest not remove him, tell it mee, I will not suffer it, &c. And had there never been more error in the managing Church-censures, then in the foregoing instances, the Church might have exercised censures, and all the parts of power that Christ gave her, without either scandall or danger to her selfe, or her penitents. But when in the very censure of excommunication there is a new ingredient put, a great proportion of secular inconveniences, and humane interest, when excommunications, as in the Apostles times they were deliverings over to Satan, so now, shall be deliverings

liverings over to a forraine enemy, or the peoples rage; as then, to be buffeted, so now to be deposed, or disinterest in the allegiance of subjects; in these cases, excommunication being nothing like that which Christ authorized, and no way cooperating toward the end of its institution, but to an end of private designs, and rebellious interest, *Bishops* have no power of such censures, nor is it lawfull to inflict the, things remaining in that consistence, and capacity. And thus is that famous saying to be understood reported by *S. Thomas* to be *S. Austin's*, but is indeed found in the *Ordinary Glosse* upon

Matth. 13. Princeps & multitudo non est excommunicanda. A Prince or a Common wealth are not to be excommunicate.

*In 3. partis
Supplem. q. 22
a. 5.*

*Vide Aug. ep.
75. & Grati-
an. dist. 24. q. 2.
c. Si habet.*

Thus I have given a short account of the *Per-* sons, and causes of which *Bishops* according to *Catholick* practice did, and might take cognisance. This use only I make of it. Although *Christ* hath given great authority to his Church in order to the regiment of soules, such a power, *qua nullis poterit comparationibus adequari*, yet it hath its limits, and a proper cognisance, *viç. things spirituall*, and the emergencies, and consequents from those things which Christianity hath introduced *denovo*, and superadded, as things totally disparate from the precise interest of the *Common-wealth*; And this I the rather noted, to show how those men would mend themselves that cry downe the tyranny (as they list to call it) of *Episcopacy*, and yet call for the *Presbytery*. *** For the *Presbytery* does challenge

*(sed ibi [Prin-
ceps] non in-
feritur, sed
tantum in
glossâ ordina-
riâ.*

cognisance of all causes whatsoever, which are either
sinnes directly, or by reduction. * [*All crimes which*
by the Law of God deserve death.] There they bring
 in Murders, Treasons, Witchcrafts, Felonies. Then
 the *Minor* faults they bring in under the title of
 [*Scandalous and offensive*] Nay [*Quodvis pecca-*
tum,] saith *Snecanus*, to which if we adde this con-
 sideration, that they believe every action of any man
 to have in it the malignity of a damnable sinne, there
 is nothing in the world, good or bad, virtuous or su-
 spitious, scandalous, or criminall; true, or ima-
 ginary; reall actions, or personall, in all which, and
 in all contestations, and complaints one party is de-
 linquent, either by false accusation, or reall injury;
 but they comprehend in their vast gripe, and then
 they have power to nullify all Courts, and judicator-
 ies, besides their owne: and being, for this their
 cognisance they pretend *Divine institution*, there
 shall be no causes IMPERFECT in their Consistory,
no appeale from them, but they shall heare, and
 determine with finall resolution, and it will be sinne,
 and therefore punishable, to complaine of injustice
 and illegality. * If this be confronted but with the
 pretences of *Episcopacy*, and the Modesty of their
 severall demands, and the reasonableness, and di-
 vinity of each vindication examined, I suppose,
 were there nothing but Prudentiall motives to be
 put into ballance to weigh downe this Question, the
 cause would soone be determin'd, and the little fin-
 ger of Presbytery, not only in it's exemplary, and
 tryed practices, but in its dogmaticall pretensions,
 is

Vide the book
 of Order of
 Excomm. in
 Scotland. &
 the Hist. of
 Scotland.
 Admonit. 2. p.
 46.
 Knox his ex-
 hortation to
 England.

is heavier then the loynes, nay then the whole body of *Episcopacy*; but it seldome happens otherwise, but that they who usurpe a power, prove tyrants in the execution, whereas the issues of a lawfull power are faire and moderate.

BUT I must proceed to the more particular instances of *Episcopall* Jurisdiction. The whole power of Ministration both of the Word and Sacraments was in the *Bishop* by *prime* authority, and in the *Presbyters* by *commission* and *delegation*, inso-much that they might not exercise any ordinary ministration without license from the *Bishop*. They had power and capacity by their order to Preach, to Minister, to Offer, to Reconcile, and to Baptize. They were indeed acts of order, but that they might not by the law of the Church exercise any of these acts, without license from the *Bishop*, that is an act or issue of jurisdiction, and shewes the superiority of the *Bishop* over his *Presbyters*, by the practice of Christendome.

§ 37.
Forbidding
Presbyters
to officiate
without E-
piscopall
license,

S. Ignatius hath done very good offices in all the parts of this Question, and here also he brings in succour. ἐχ' ἑστ' ἐπὶ χρεῖς τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἐν βασιλείᾳ, ἐν *Epist. ad* *Smyrna.* *οὐκ ἐστὶν ὁ νόμος οὐκ ἐστὶν ὁ νόμος, ἐν δὲ χρεῖς ἐκκλησιαστικῇ. It is* not lawfull without the *Bishop* (*viz.* without his leave) either to baptize, or to offer Sacrifice, or to make oblation, or to keep feasts of charity: and a little before; speaking of the B. Eucharist, and its ministration, and having premised a generall interdict for doing any thing without the *Bishops* consent,

ἐκείνη ἡ βέλτερά διακονία ἡ ἐκείνη ἡ ἐξουσία, ἢ ἡ ἐκείνη ἡ ἀρχὴ. But let that Eucharist (saith he) be held valid which is celebrated under the Bishop, or under him, to whom the Bishop shall permit. * * *

* I doe not here dispute the matter of *right*, and whether or no the Presbyters might *de jure* doe any offices without Episcopall licence, but whether or no *de facto* it was permitted them in the primitive Church? This is sufficient to show, to what issue the reduction of *Episcopacy* to a primitive consistence will drive; and if I mistake not, it is at least a very probable determination of the question of *right* too. For who will imagine that *Bishops* should at the first in the calenture of their infant devotion, in the new spring of Christianity, in the times of persecution, in all the publike disadvantages of state and fortune, when they anchor'd only upon the shore of a Holy Conscience, that then they should have thoughts ambitious, incroaching, of usurpation and advantages, of purpose to devest their Brethren of an authority intrusted them by Christ, and then too when all the advantage of their honour did only set them upon a hill to feele a stronger blast of persecution, and was not, as since it hath been, attested with secular assistance, and faire arguments of honour, but was only in a meere spirituall estimate, and ten thousand reall disadvantages. This will not be suppos'd either of wise or holy men. But however. *Valeat quantum valere potest.* The question is now of matter of *fact*, and if the Church of Martyrs, and the Church of Saints, and Doctors, and

and Confessors now regnant in heaven, be faire precedents for practices of Christianity, we build upon a rock, though we had digg'd no deeper then this foundation of Catholick practise.

Upon the hopes of these advantages, I proceed.

Ἐὰν τις ἐπισβύτης ἐπαρρησίους ᾖ ἑῷ Ἐπισκόπῳ χάρις συνα- Can. Apost. 32

γωγῶν καὶ συστάσεων ποιῇ, ἐκταρεῖδω. If any Presbyter disrespecting his own Bishop shall make conventions a part, or erect an altar (*viz.* without the Bishops license) let him be deposed; clearly intimating that potestas faciendi concionem, the power of making of Church-meetings and assemblies, for preaching or other offices is derived from the Bishop, and therefore the Canon adds ἐκταρεῖδω ὡς ἐλαρχος. τυραντος ᾖ. He is a lover of Rule, he is a Tyrant, that is, an usurper of that power & government which belongs to the Bishop. The same thing is also decreed in the Council of Antioch, and in the Council of Chalcedon, Ca. 5.

πάντες δὲ ἀναβίβασαι ὁπίσκοποι ἐκείνου, ὅπως ἀίματος ἐξῶν, ὅπως A. 4.

ὁ καὶ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων. All the most Reverend Bishops cryed out, this is a righteous law, this is the Canon of the holy Fathers. [This] *viz.* The Canon Apostolicall now cited. * Tertullian is something De baptis. more particular, and instances in Baptisme. Dandi baptismum jus habet summus Sacerdos, qui est Episcopus. Dehinc Presbyteri & Diaconi, non tamen sine Episcopi autoritate, propter honorem Ecclesiae, quo salvo salva pax est; alioquin etiam Laicis jus est. The place is of great consideration, and carries in it its own objection and its answer. "The Bishop hath the right of giving baptisme. Then after him,

“*Presbyters and Deacons, but not without the authority of the Bishop.* (So farre the testimony is clear) and this is *for the honour of the Church.*” But does not this intimate it was only by *positive* constitution, and neither by *Divine* nor *Apostolicall* ordinance? No indeed. It does not. For it might be so ordained by Christ or his Apostles *propter honorem Ecclesie*; and no harme done. For it is honourable for the Church, that her Ministrations should be most ordinate, and so they are when they descend from the superior to the subordinate. But the next words doe of themselves make answer, [*Otherwise Lay-men have right to baptize*] That is, *without the consent of the Bishop Lay-men can doe it as much as Presbyters and Deacons.* For indeed baptism conferred by Lay-men is valid and not to bee repeated, but yet they ought not to administer it, so neither ought *Presbyters* without the *Bishops* license: so saies *Tertullian*, let him answer it. Only the difference is this, Lay-men cannot *jure ordinario* receive a leave or commission to make it lawfull in them to baptize any; *Presbyters* and *Deacons* may, for their order is a capacity or possibility. ** But besides the Sacrament of Baptisme, *Tertullian* affirms the same of the venerable Eucharist. *Eucharistia Sacramentum non de aliorum manu quàm Præsidentium sumimus.* The former place will expound this, if there be any scruple in [*Præsidentium*] for clearly the Christians receive the Sacrament of the Eucharist from none but *Bishops*. I suppose he means [*without Episcopall license.*] whatsoever his

*De coronâ
milit a. 3. vide
S. Chrysost.
hom. 11 in 1.
Tim. & S. Hi-
eron. dial. adv.
Lucifer.*

his meaning is, these are his words.

The Councell of *Gangra*, forbidding conventicles, expressees it with this intimation of Episcopall Can. 6.
 "authority. If any man shall make assemblies privately, & out of the Church, so despising the Church,
 "or shall doe any Church-offices *καὶ ἐκτὸς τῆς ἐκκλησίας* without the presence of a Priest by THE DECREE OF A BISHOP, let him be anathema. The Priest is not to be assistant at any meeting for private offices without the Bishops license. If they will celebrate *Synaxes* privately, it must be by a Priest, and he must be there by leave of the Bishop, & then the assembly is lawfull.
 * And this thing was so knowne, that the Fathers of the second Councell of *Carthage* call it ignorance or Ca. 9.
 hypocrisy in Priests to doe their offices without a license from the Bishop. *Numidius Episcopus Massilytanus dixit, In quibusdam locis sunt Presbyteri qui aut ignorantes simpliciter, aut dissimulantes audacter, presente, & inconsulto Episcopo complurimis in domicilijs agunt agenda, quod disciplina incongruum cognoscit esse Sanctitas vestra. In some places there are Priests that in private houses doe offices (houseing of people is the office meant, communicating them at home) without the consent or leave of the Bishop, being either simply ignorant, or boldly dissembling; Implying, that they could not else but know their duties to be, to procure Episcopall license for their ministrations. Ab Vniuersis Episcopus dictum est. Quisquis Presbyter inconsulto Episcopo agenda in quolibet loco volueris celebrare, ipse honori suo contrarius*

"*trarius existit.* All the Bishops said, if any Priest
 "without leave of his Bishop shall celebrate the myste-
 "ries, be the place what it will be, he is an Enemy to
 "the Bishops dignity.

Can. 8. part. 2.
 AG. 14.

After this in time, but before in authority is the
 great Councell of Chalcedon. *ὅς ἐκέλευσε ... ἵνα ὅς ἐστι
 ἐκείνη πάλαι ὁμολογῶν τὴν ἐξουσίαν κατὰ τὴν ἑστῶσαν πατρῶν
 παραδόντων διακρίνεται.* Let the Clergy according to the
 tradition of the Fathers, remaine under the power of
 the Bishops of the City. So that they are for their of-
 fices in dependance of the authority of the Bishop.
 The Canon instances particularly to Priests officia-
 ting in Monasteries and Hospitalls, but extends it
 selfe to an indefinite expression *ὃ μὴ ὁπωδα δὲ ἔσται,
 ἢ ἀφωρίαν τὸ ἰδεῖν ἡμᾶς,* They must not dissent or dif-
 fer from their Bishop. *ὅς παμῶντος ἀναγίγνωσιν τὴν περὶ τὴν
 διατάξιν καὶ ὅς δύνανται γένηται &c.* All they that trans-
 gresse this Constitution in ANY WAY, not submitting
 to their Bishop, let them be punish'd canonically. So
 that now these generall expressions of obedience
 and subordination to the Bishop being to be Under-
 stood according to the exigence of the matter, to
 wit, the Ministeries of the Clergy in their severall
 offices, the Canon extends it's prohibition to all
 ministrations without the Bishops authority.

Epist. 86.

But it was more clearly and evidently law and
 practice in the Roman Church, we have good wit-
 nesse for it; S. Leo the Bishop of that Church is my
 author. *Sed neq; coram Episcopo licet Presbyteris in
 baptisterium introire, nec prasente Antistite infan-
 tem tingere, aut signare, nec penitentem sine praecep-
 tione*

sione Episcopi sui reconciliare, nec eo prasente nisi illo jubente Sacramentum corporis & Sanguinis Christi conficere, nec eo coram posito populum docere, vel benedicere &c. It is not lawfull for the Presbyters to enter into the baptistery; nor to baptize any Catechumens, nor to consecrate the Sacrament of Christs body and blood in the presence of the Bishop without his command. From this place of S. Leo, if it be set in conjunction with the precedent, we have faire evidence of this whole particular. It is not lawfull to doe any offices without the Bishops leave; So *S. Ignatius*, so the *Canons of the Apostles*, so *Tertullian*, so the Councells of *Antioch* and *Chalcedon*. It is not lawfull to doe any offices in the Bishops presence without leave, so *S. Leo*. The Councell of *Carthage* joynes them both together, *neither in his presence, nor without his leave in any place.*

Now against this practice of the Church, if any man should discourse as *S. Hierome* is pretended to doe by *Gratian*, *Qui non vult Presbyteros facere quæ jubentur à Deo, dicat quis major est Christo.* dist. 95. cap. Ecce ego. He that will not let Presbyters doe what they are commanded to doe by God, let him tell us if any man be greater then Christ, viz: whose command it is, that Presbyters should preach. Why then did the Church require the Bishop's leave? might not Presbyters doe their duty without a license? This is it which the practice of the Church is abundantly sufficient to answer. * For to the Bishop is committed the care of the whole diocese, he it is that must give the highest account for the whole charge, he it is

K k

who

- 1 Can. 40.
2 Epist. ad
Ephes.
3 Cap. 24.

who is appointed by peculiar designation to feede the flock, so the *Canon* of the ¹ *Apostles*, so ² *Ignatius*, so the Councell of ³ *Antioch*, so every where; The *Presbyters* are admitted *in partem sollicitudinis*, but still the *jurisdiction* of the whole *Diocesse* is in the *Bishop*, and without the *Bishop's* admission to a part of it *per traditionem subditorum*, although the *Presbyter* by his ordination have a capacity of preaching and administring Sacraments, yet he cannot exercise this without designation of a particular charge either temporary or fixt. And therefore it is, that a *Presbyter* may not doe these acts without the *Bishops* leave, because they are actions of relation, and suppose a congregation to whom they must be administred, or some particular person; for a Priest must not preach to the stones as some say *Venerable Bede* did, nor communicate alone, the word is destructive of the thing, nor baptize unlesse he have a *Chrysome Child*, or a *Catechumen*; So that all of the *Diocesse* being the *Bishop's* charge, the *Bishop* must either authorize the *Priest*, or the *Priest* must not meddle, least he be (what *S. Peter* blam'd) ἀνομιανισμένος, a *Bishop in anothers Diocesse*: Not that the *Bishop* did licentise the acts precisely of baptizing, of consecrating &c. For these he had by his *ordination*, but that in giving licentise he did give him a subject to whom he might apply these relative actions, and did *quoad hoc* take him *in partem sollicitudinis* and concredit some part of his *diocesse* to his administration *cum curâ animarum*.

But then on the other side because the whole cure
of

of the Diocesse is in the *Bishop*, he cannot exonerate himselfe of it, for it is a burden of Christs imposing, or it is not imposed at all, therefore this taking of *Presbyters* into part of the *regiment* and *care* does not deuest him of his own power, or any part of it, nor yet ease him of his care, but that as he must still *in omni*, visit and see to his *Diocesse*, so he hath authority still in all parts of his *Diocesse*, and this appears in these places now quoted; insomuch as when the *Bishop* came to any place, there the *Vicaria* of the *Presbyters* did cease. *In praesentia Majoris cessat potestas minoris*. And, though because the *Bishop* could not doe all the *Minor* and daily offices of the Priesthood in every congregation of his *Diocesse*, therefore he appointed *Priests* severally to officiate, himselfe looking to the *Metropolis* and the daughter Churches by a generall supravision; yet when the *Bishop* came into any place of his *Diocesse*, there he being present might doe any office, because it was in his own charge, which he might concredit to another, but not exonerate himselfe of it; And therefore *praesente Episcopo* (saith the Councell of *Carthage*, and *S. Leo*) if the *Bishop* be present, the *Presbyter* without leave might not officiate; For he had no subjects of his owne, but by trust and delegation, and this delegation was given him to supply the *Bishops* absence, who could not *simul omnibus interesse*, but then, where he was present, the cause of delegation ceasing, the jurisdiction also ceased, or was at least absorpt in the greater, and so without leave might not be exercised; like

the starres which in the noon day have their own naturall light, as much as in the night, but appeare not, shine not in the presence of the Sunne.

This perhaps will seem uncouth to those *Presbyters*, who (as the Councell of *Carthage's* exp^{re}ssionis) are *contrarii honori Episcopali*; but yet if we keep our selves in our own forme, where God hath placed us, and where wee were in the Primitive Church, wee shall find all this to be sooth, and full of order. For Consider. The elder the prohibition was, the more absolute & indefinite it runs. [*Without the Bishop it is not lawfull to baptize, to consecrate*] &c. So *Ignatius*. The prohibition is without limit. But in descent of the Church it runnes, [*præsente Episcopo*] the Bishop being present they must not without leave. The thing is all one, and a derivation from the same originall, to wit, the *Universality of the Bishops Jurisdiction*, but the reason of the difference of expression is this. At first *Presbyters* were in Citties with the Bishop, and no parishes at all concredited to them. The Bishops lived in Citties, the *Presbyters* preach'd and offer'd *ad domum* from house to house according as the Bishop directed them. Here they had no ordinary charge, and therefore the first prohibitions runne indefinitely, they must not doe any Clericall offices *sine Episcopo*, unlesse the Bishop sends them. But then afterwards when the Parishes were distinct, and the *Presbyters* fix't upon ordinary charges, then it was only, *præsente Episcopo*, if the Bishop was present, they might not officiate without leave. For in his absence they might

might doe it, I doe not say *without leave*, but I say they had leave given them, when the Bishop sent them to officiate in a Village with ordinary or temporary residence; as it is to this day, when the Bishop institutes to a particular charge, he also gives power *hoc ipso*, of officiating in that place. So that at first when they did officiate in places by *temporary missions*, then they were to have leave, but this *license* was also *temporary*; but when they were fixt upon *ordinary charges* they might not officiate without leave, but then they had an *ordinary leave* given them *in traditione subditorum*, and that was done *in subsidium Muneris Episcopalis*, because it was that part of the Bishops charge, which he could not personally attend for execution of the *Minor offices*, and therefore concredited it to a *Presbyter*, but if he was present, a *new leave* was necessary, because as the *power* alwaies was in the Bishop, so now the *execution* also did returne to him when he was there in person, himselfe if he listd, might officiate.

All this is excellently attested in the example of *S. Austin*, of whom *Possidonius* in his life reports that being but a *Presbyter*, *Valerius* the Bishop being a Greek borne, and not well spoken in the Latin tongue, and so unfit for publike orations, *eidem Presbytero* (*viz. to Austin*) *potestatem dedit coram se in Ecclesiâ Evangelium predicandi, ac frequentissimè tractandi contra Usûm quidem, & Consuetudinem Africanarum Ecclesiarum*. He gave leave to *Austin* then but *Presbyter*, to preach in the Church,

even while himselfe was present, indeed against the
 USE and CUSTOME of the African Churches. And
 for this act of his he suffered soundly in his report.
 * For the case was thus. In all Africa ever since the
 first spring of the *Arian* heresy, the Church had
 then suffered so much by the preaching of *Arim* the
Presbyter, that they made a Law not to suffer any
Presbyter to preach at all, at least in the Mother
 Church, and in the Bishops presence. *ἔτι ἀρχὴν ἡμε-*
ρα ἰσ' ὁ Ἀπὸς τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν ἐτάξατο (saith *Socrates*.)
 Thence came this Custome in the African Churches.
 But because *Valerius* saw *S. Austin* so able, and
 himselfe for want of Latin so unfit, he gave leave to
Austin to preach before him, against the Custome of
 the African Churches. But he addes this reason for
 his excuse too; it was not indeed the custome of *A-*
frica, but it was of the Orientall Churches. For so
Posidonius proceeds, *sed & ille vir venerabilis, ac*
providus, in orientalibus Ecclesiis id ex more fieri sci-
ens, in the Levant it was usuall for Bishops to give
Presbyters leave to preach, *dummodò factitaretur à*
Presbytero quod à se Episcopo impleri minimè posse
cernebat, which determines us fully in the businesse.
 For this leave to doe offices was but there to be gi-
 ven where the Bishop himselfe could not fulfill the
 offices, which shoves the *Presbyters* in their sever-
 all charges, whether of temporary mission, or fixt
 residence, to be but Delegates, and Vicars of the
 Bishop admitted *in partem Sollicitudinis*, to assist
 the Bishop in his great charge of the whole Dio-
 cesse.

Against

Against this it is objected out of S. Hierome, and it is recorded by Gratian, *Ecce ego dico praesentibus Episcopis suis, atq; adstantibus in altari Presbyteros posse Sacramenta conficere.* Behold, I say that Presbyters may minister Sacraments in presence of the Bishop. So Gratian quotes it indeed, but S. Hierome saies the expresse contrary, unlesse we all have false copies. For in S. Hierome it is not [*Ecce ego dico*] but [*Nec ego dico.*] He does not say it is lawfull for Presbyters to officiate in the presence of their Bishop. Indeed S. Hierome is angry at Rusticus Bishop of Narbona because he would not give leave to Presbyters to preach, nor to blesse &c. This, perhaps it was not well done, but this makes not against the former discourse; for though it may be fit for the Bishop to give leave, the Church requiring it still more and more in descent of ages, and multiplication of Christians, and Parishes, yet it is cleare that this is not to be done without the Bishops leave, for it is for this very thing that S. Hierome disputes against Rusticus, to show he did amisse, because he would not give his Presbyters license. * And this he also reprehends in his epistle ad Nepotianum, *Pessima consuetudinis est in quibusdam Ecclesiis tacere Presbyteros, & praesentibus Episcopis non loqui.* That Presbyters might not be suffered to preach in presence of the Bishop, that was an ill custome, to wit, as things then stood, and it was mended presently after, for Presbyters did preach in the Bishops presence, but it was by license from their Ordinary. For so Possidonius relates, that upon this act of Valerius before.

*Ad Rustic.
Narbon. dist.
95. can. Ecce
ego.*

Can. 12.

before mentioned, *Postea currente & volante hujusmodi fama, bono precedente exemplo, ACCEPTA AB EPISCOPIS POTESTATE Presbyteri nonnulli coram Episcopis, populis tractare caperunt verbum Dei.* By occasion of this precedent it came to passe, that some Presbyters did preach to the people in the Bishops presence, having first obtain'd faculty from the Bishop so to doe. And a little after it became a custome from a generall faculty and dispensation indulged to them in the second Councell of Vase. Now if this evidence of Church practise be not sufficient to reconcile us to S. Hierome, let him then first be reconciled to himselfe, and then we are sure to be help'd. For in his dialogue against the *Luciferians*, his words are these, *Cui si non exors quadam & ab omnibus eminens detur potestas, tot efficiuntur Schismata quot sunt Sacerdotes. Inde venit ut sine Episcopi missione neq; Presbyter, neq; Diaconus jus habeant baptizandi.* Because the Bishop hath an eminent power, and this power is necessary, thence it comes that neither Presbyter nor Deacon may so much as baptize without the Bishops leave.

** This whole discourse shewes clearly not only the Bishops to be superiour in jurisdiction, but that they have sole jurisdiction, and the Presbyters only in substitution and vicaridge.

§ 38.
Reserving
Church
goods to E-
piscopall
dispensati-
on,

** **D**Ivers other acts there are to attest the superiority of the Bishops jurisdiction over Priests and Deacons, as, that all the goods of the Church, were in the Bishops sole disposing, and as
at

at first they were laid at the Apostles feet, so afterwards, at the Bishops. So it is in the 41. Canon of the Apostles, so it is in the Councell of *Gangra*, and all the world are excluded from intervening in the dispensation, without expresse delegation from the Bishop, as appears in the seventh and eight Canons, and that under pain of an *anathema* by the holy Councell. * And therefore when in successe of time, some Patrons that had founded Churches and endowed them, thought that the dispensation of those lands did not belong to the Bishop, of this the third Councell of *Toledo* complains, and makes remedy, commanding, *ut omnia SECUNDUM CONSTITUTIONEM ANTIQUAM, ad Episcopi ordinationem & potestatem pertineant*. The same is renewed in the fourth Councell of *Toledo*. *Noverint autem conditores basilicarum in rebus quas eisdem Ecclesiis conferunt, nullam se potestatem habere, SED IUXTA CANONUM INSTITUTA, sicut Ecclesiam, ita & dotem ejus ad ordinationem Episcopi pertinere*. These Councells I produce not as Judges, but as witnesses in the business, for they give concurrent testimony that as the Church it selfe, so the dowry of it too did belong to the Bishops disposition by the Ancient Canons. For so the third Councell of *Toledo* calls it, *antiquam Constitutionem*, and it selfe is almost 1100. years old, so that still I am precisely within the bounds of the Primitive Church though it be taken in a narrow sense. For so it was determin'd in the great Councell of *Chalcedon*, commanding that the goods of the Church should be

As. Dom.
589.

Cap. 32.

Can. 26. vide
Zonaram in
hunc Canonem.

L I

dispen-

Videatur Con-
cil. Carthag.
Graec. can. 36.
38. & 41. &
Balsam. ibid.
& apologia 2.
Iuliani Mar-
tyris.

§ 39.
Forbidding
Presbyters
to leave
their own
Diocese, or
to travell
without
leave of the
Bishop.

Vile Concil.
Epaun c. 5. &
venet. c. 10.

CAN. 43.

dispensed by a Clergy Steward, καὶ γούμω τῷ ἰδίῳ ἐπι-
σκόπῳ, according to the pleasure or sentence of the Bi-
shop.

ADde to this, that without the Bishop's dimisso-
ry letters Presbyters might not goe to another
Diocese. So it is decreed in the *fifteenth Canon* of
the *Apostles*, under paine of suspension or depositi-
ON, ἐπιθήκη ἀποκρυψῶν is the censure; and that especially,
οὐ σὺν ἐπισκόπῳ αὐτῶν τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ αὐτοῦ, ἐπαρθεῖν ἐκ ἐκείνου
ou, if he would not returne when his Bishop calls him.
The same is renewed in the Councell of *Antioch*,
cap. 3. and in the Councell of *Constantinople* in
Trullo, cap. 17. the censure there is, καθαιρεῖσθαι καὶ ἀποτί-
let him be deposed that shall without dimissory letters
from his Bishop, ἐκ ἐκείνου μετατέλειθαι ἑκκελευσά, fixt him-
selfe in the Diocese of another Bishop. But with li-
cense of his Bishop, he may. *Sacerdotes, vel alii Cle-
rici concessione suorum Episcoporum possunt ad alias
Ecclesias transmigrare.* But this is frequently re-
newed in many other Synodall decrees, these may
suffice for this instance.

* But this not leaving the Diocese is not only
meant of promotion in another Church, but Cler-
gy men might not traivelle from Citty to Citty,
without the Bishops license; which is not only an
argument of his regiment in genere politico, but ex-
tends it almost to a despotick; But so strict was the
Primitive Church in preserving the strict tye of du-
ty, and Clericall subordination to their Bishop. The
Councell of *Laodicea* commands a Priest, or Cler-
gy

gy man *αὐτὸν ἔχοντ' ὡς ἐκκλησιαστικὸν καὶ ἰδιωτὴν*, not to travail without Canonically, or dimissory letters. And who are to grant these letters, is expressed in the next Canon which repeats the same prohibition, *Can. 43.*
ὅτι ὁ δὲ ἱερεὺς ἢ κληρικὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ἰδιωτὸς ἐκκλησιαστικὸν ἰδίῳ,
a Priest or a Clerke must not travaile without the command of his Bishop; and this prohibition is inserted into the body of the Law, *de consecrat. dist 5. can. non oportet*, which puts in the clause of [*Neg. etiam Laicum,*] but this was beyond the Councell. The same is in the Councell of ^a *Agatho*. The ^a *Can. 38.*
 Councell of ^b *Venice* adds a censure, that those Clerks ^b *Can. 5.*
 should be like persons excommunicate in all those places whither they went, without letters of license from their Bishop. The same penalty is inflicted by the Councell of *Epaunum*, *Presbytero, vel Diacono.* *Can. 6.*
no sine Antistitis sui Epistolis ambulanti communio-
nem nullus impendat. The first Councell of *Tou-*
rayne in France, and the third Councell of *Orleans* attest the selfe same power in the Bishop, and duty in all his Clergy.

BUT a Coërcitive authority makes not a complete jurisdiction, unless it be also remunerative, & [*the Princes of the Nations are called* *εὐεργετῆς Benefactors*] for it is but halfe a tye to indeare obedience, when the Subject only fears *quod prodesse non poterit*, that which cannot profit. And therefore his Clerks the primitive Church, to make the Episcopall jurisdiction up intire, gave power to the Bishop to present the Clerks of his Diocese to the higher Orders

L 1 a

and

§ 40.

And the Bishop had power to preferre which of he pleased,

Cas. 31.

and neerer degrees of approximation to himselfe, and the Clerks might not refuse to be so promoted. *Item placuit ut quicumq; Clerici vel Diaconi pro necessitatibus Ecclesiarum non obtemperaverint* EPISCOPI SUI VOLUNTIBUS EOS AD HONOREM AMPLIOREM IN SUA ECCLESIA PROMOVERE, *nec illic ministrent in gradu suo unde recedere noluerunt.* So it is decreed in the *African Code*, *They that will not by their Bishop be promoted to a Greater honour in the Church, must not enjoy what they have already.*

But it is a question of great consideration, and worth a strict inquiry, in whom the right and power of electing Clerks was resident in the Primitive Church: for the right and the power did not alwaies go together, and also severall Orders had severall manner of election; Presbyters and inferior Clergy were chosen by the Bishop alone, the Bishop by a Synod of Bishops, or by their Chapter; And lastly, because of late, strong outcries are made upon severall pretensions, amongst which the people make the biggest noise, though of all, their title to election of Clerks be most empty, therefore let us consider it upon all its grounds.

1. In the Acts of the Apostles, which are most certainly the best precedents for all acts of holy Church we find that [Paul and Barnabas ordain'd Elders in every Church] and [they passed thorough Lystra, Iconium, Antioch, and Derbe] *προεβίβαντες αυτοις προτοτυποις*, appointing them Elders. * S. Paul chose Timothy Bishop of Ephesus, and he saies of him.

himselfe and *Titus*, [*For this cause I SENT thee to Crete, ἵνα καταστήσῃς ἐκτὰ πόλιν ἐπισκόπους, that thou shouldst appoint Presbyters, or Bishops (be they which they will) in every City*]. The word *ἐπισκόπος*, signifies that the whole action was his. For that he ordained them no man questions, but he also APPOINTED THEM, and that was, saith *S. Paul*, *ὡς ἔνεκεν* *ἡ ἐκείνου ἐντολῆς, as I commanded thee*. It was therefore an Apostolicall ordinance, that the BISHOP SHOULD APPOINT PRESBYTERS. Let there be halfe so much shovne for the people, and I will also endeavour to promote their interest. * * * * There is onely one pretence of a popular election in Scripture; It is of the seven that were set over the widowes. * But first, this was no part of the *hierarchy*: This was no cure of soules: This was no divine institution: It was in the dispensation of monyes: it was by command of the *Apostles* the election was made, and they might recede from their owne right: it was to satisfie the multitude: it was to avoid scandall, which in the dispensation of monyes might easily arise: it was in a temporary office: it was with such limitations, and conditions as the *Apostles* prescrib'd them: it was out of the number of the 70 that the election was made, if we may beleive *S. Epiphanius*, so that they were Presbyters before this choice: and lastly, it was onely a Nomination of seven Men, the determination of the buisnesse, and the authority of rejection was still in the *Apostles*, and indeed the whole power [*Whom We MAY APPOINT over this businesse*] & after all this,

Epist. ad
Antioch.

there can be no hurt done by the objection, especially since clearly and indubiously the election of *Bishops*, and *Presbyters* was in the *Apostles* owne persons (ὁ πρῶτος ἐκτελέσας παρ' ὧν ἀπεστάλην τῶ ἱμετέρῳ πρεσβυτέρῳ, saith S. Ignatius of *Evodias*; *Evodias* was first APPOINTED to be your Governour, or *Bishop*, by the APOSTLES) and themselves did commit it to others that were *Bishops*, as in the instances before reckoned. Thus the case stood in Scripture.

Can. 13.

2. In the practice of the Church it went according to the same law, and practice *Apostolicall*. The People did not, might not choose the Ministers of holy Church. So the Councell of *Laodicea*, μετὰ τὴν μὴ καὶ ὄχλος ἐπιτίμει τὰς ἐκλογὰς ποιῶν ὅτι πολλοὶ καὶ ἄσκητοι εἰς ἐκτίμωσιν. The people must not choose those that are to be promoted to the Priesthood. The prohibition extends to their Non-election of all the Superiour Clergy, *Bishops* and *Presbyters*. But who then must elect them? The Councell of *Nice* determines that, for in 16 and 17 Canons the Councell forbids any promotion of Clerks to be made, but by the Bishop of that Church where they are first ordayned, which clearly reserves to the Bishop the power of retayning, or promoting all his Clergy.

* 3. All Ordinations were made by *Bishops* alone, (as I have already prooved.) Now let this be confronted with the practice of Primitive Christendome, that no *Presbyter* might be ordain'd *sine titulo* without a particular charge, which was alwaies custome, and at last grew to be a law in the Councell

Councell of *Chalcedon*, and we shall perceive that the ordainer was the onely chooser; for then to ordaine a Presbyter was also to give him a charge; and the Patronage of a Church was not a lay inheritance, but part of the *Bishops* cure, for he had *ἐκκλησιᾶς καὶ ἐπαρχίας ἐν ὅλῃς, καὶ χάριν, the care of the Churches in all the Diocesse,* as I have already shewne. And therefore when *S. Ierome*, according to the custome of Christendome, had specified some particular ordinations or election of Presbyters by *Bishops*, as how himselfe was made Priest by *Paulinus*, and *Paulinus* by *Epiphanius* of *Cyprus*, *Gaudeat Episcopus iudicio suo, cum tales Christo elegeris Sacerdotes*, let the Bishop rejoyce in his owne act, having chosen such worthy Priests for the service of Christ. Epi. 61.
Ep. 62.

Thus *S. Ambrose* gives intimation that the dispensing all the offices in the Clergy was solely in the Bishop. *Hac spectet Sacerdos, & quod cuique congruat, id officij deputet.* Let the Bishop observe these rules, and appoint every one his office as is best answerable to his condition and capacity. And *Theodoret* reports of *Leontius* the Bishop of *Antioch*, how being an *Arian*, *adversarios recti dogmatis suscipiens, licet turpem habentes vitam, ad Presbyteratus tamen ordinem, & Diaconatus evehit. Eos autem qui Vniversis virtutibus ornabantur, & Apostolica dogmata defendebant, absque honore deseruit.* He advanc'd his owne faction, but would not promote any man that was Catholic-like and pious. So he did. The power therefore of Clericall promotion was in his owne hands. This thing is evident and notorious; And there is scarce any Hieron. ad
Neporian.
Tripart. bib.
lib. 5. cap. 32.

lib. 1. Epist. 5.

any example in Antiquity of either Presbyters, or people choosing any Priest, but only in the case of *S. Austin* whom the Peoples hast snatch'd, and carried him to their *Bishop Valerius* intreating him to ordayne him Priest. This indeed is true, that the testimony of the people, for the life of them that were to be ordayn'd was by *S. Cyprian* ordinarily required; *In ordinandis Clericis (Fratres Charissimi) solemus vos ante consulere, & mores, ac merita singulorum communi consilio ponderare.* It was his custome to advise with his people concerning the publike fame of Clerks to be ordayn'd; It was usuall (I say) with him, but not perpetuall, for it was otherwise in the case of *Celerinus*, and divers others, as I shewed elsewhere.

4. In election of *Bishops* (though not of Priests) the Clergy and the people had a greater actuall interest, and did often intervene with their silent consenting suffrages, or publike acclamations. But first; This was not necessary. It was otherwise among the *Apostles*, and in the case of *Timothy*, of *Titus*, of *S. James*, of *S. Marke*, and all the Successors whom they did constitute in the severall chayres. 2^{ly}. This was not by law, or right, but in fact only. It was against the Canon of the *Laodicean Councell*, and the 31th Canon of the *Apostles*, which under paine of deposition commands that a *Bishop* be not promoted to his Church by the intervening of any lay power.

Epist. 68.

Against this discourse *S. Cyprian* is strongly pretended. *Quando ipsa [plebs] maxime habeas potestatem*

sem vel eligendi dignos Sacerdotes, vel indignos recusandi. Quod & ipsum videmus de divinâ autoritate descendere &c. Thus he is usually cited. The people have power to choose, or to refuse their Bishops, and this comes to them from Divine authority. No such matter. The following words expound him better, [Quod & ipsum videmus de divinâ autoritate descendere, ut Sacerdos PIETUS PRÆSENTI sub omnium oculis deligatur, & dignus, atq. idoneus publico iudicio ac testimonio comprobetur: that the Bishop is chosen publickly, in the presence of the people, and he only be thought fit who is approved by publick judgement, and testimony; or as S. Paul's phrase is [he must have a good report of all men] that is indeed a divine institution, and that to this purpose, and for the publick attestation of the act of election and ordination the peoples presence was required, appears clearly by S. Cyprian's discourse in this Epistle. For what is the *divine authority* that he mentions? It is only the example of Moses whom God commanded to take the Sonne of Eleazar and cloath him with his Fathers robes *coram omni Synagoga, before all the congregation*. The people chose not, God chose Eleazar, and Moses consecrated him, and the people stood, and look'd on, that's all that this argument can supply. * Iust thus Bishops are, and ever were ordain'd, *non nisi sub populi assistentis conscientia, in the sight of the people standing by*, but to what end? *Ut plebe presente detegantur malorum crimina, vel bonorum merita pradicentur*. All this while the election is not in the people, nothing but the

M m publike

public testimony; and examination, for so it followes, & sit ordinatio justa & legitima quæ omnium suffragio, & judicio fuerit examinata.

* But S. Cyprian hath two more proof's whence we may learne either the sense, or the truth of his assertion. The one is of the *Apostles* ordaining the seven Deacons (but this we have already examin'd,) the other of S. Peter choosing S. *Matthias* into the *Apostolate*; it was indeed done in the presence of the people. * But here it is considerable that at this surrogation of S. *Matthias* the Number of the persons present was but 120, of which eleven were *Apostles*, and 72 were Disciples and Presbyters, they make up 83, and then there remaines but 37 of the Laity, of which many were women, which I know not yet whether any man would admitt to the election of an *Apostle*, and whether they doe or doe not, the Laity is a very inconsiderable Number if the matter had beene to be carried by plurality of voices; so that let the worst come that is imaginable, the whole businesse was in effect carried by the Clergy, whom in this case we have no reason to suspect to be divided, and of a distinct, or disagreeing interest. * 2. Let this discourse be of what validity it will, yet all this whole businesse was miraculous, and extraordinary; For though the *Apostles* nam'd two Candidates yet the *holy Ghost* chose them by particular revelation. And yet for all this, it was lawfull for S. Peter alone to have done it without casting lots. *Annon licebat ipsi [Petro] eligere? licebat, & quidem maximè; verum id non facit*

facit ne cui videretur gratificari. Quamquam aliqui non erat particeps Spiritus. For all, he had not as yet received the holy Ghost, yet he had power himselfe to have completed the election. So S. *Chrysostome.* *homil. 3. in Act.*

So that now, if S. Cyprian means more then the presence of the people for suffrage of publike testimony, & extends it to a suffrage of formall choice, his proofes of the divine authority are invalid, there is no such thing can be deduc'd from thence, and then this is his *complying so much with the people* (which hath beene the fault of many a good man) may be reckon'd together with his *rebaptization*. But truth is, he means no more then suffrage of testimony, viz: That he who is to be chosen Bishop be for his good life a man of good fame, and approved of before God and all the people, and this is all the share they have in their election. * And so indeed himselfe summes up the whole businesse and tells us of another *jus Divinum* too. [*Propter quod diligenter de traditione Divinâ, & Apostolicâ observatione, observandum est & tenendum, quod apud nos quoq; & ferè apud Provincias Universas tenetur, ut ad ordinationes ritè celebrandas ad eam plebem cui Præpositus ordinatur, Episcopi ejusdem provincie proximi quique conveniant, & Episcopus deligatur plebe præsentè qua singulorum vitam plenissime novit.* It is most diligently to be observed, for there "is a Divine tradition, and an Apostolicall ordinance "for it, and it is us'd by us and almost by all Churches, "that all the Bishops of the Province assemble to the

M m 2 making

“making of right ordinations, and that a Bishop be chosen in the face of the people who best know their life and conversation.” So that the Bishops were to make the formall election, the people to give their judgement of approbation in this particular, and so much as concern’d the exemplary piety, and good life of him that was to be their Bishop. Here we see in S. Cyprian is a *jus Divinum* for the Bishops choosing a Colleague, or a Brother-Bishop, as much as for the presence of the people, and yet the presence was all. And howsoever the people were present to give this testimony, yet the election was clearely in the Bishops, and that by Divine tradition, and Apostolicall observation saith S. Cyprian; And thus it was in all Churches almost.

Epist. 120.
lib. 3. de Sa-
cerd.

In Africathis was, and so it continued till after S. Austins time, particularly in the choice of *Erasmus* his successor. It was so in the Greek Church as S. Chrysostome tels us. It was so in Spaine, as S. † Isidore tels us; and in many other places, that the people should be present, and give acclamation, and tumultuary approbation; but to the formall election of the Clergy, made by enumeration of votes and subscription, the people never were admitted.

† lib. 2. de offic.

5. Although that in times of persecution, at first, and to comply with the people who were in all respects to be sweetned, to make them with easier appetite swallow the bitter pill of persecution, and also to make them more obedient to their Bishop, if they did, though but in a tumult and noyse cry him up in his ordination, *no plebs invita Episcopum non op-
tatum,*

tatum, aut contemnat, aut oderit, & fiat minùs religioſa quàm convenit, cui non licuerit habere quem voluit, (for ſo S. Leo expreſſes the cauſe) yet the formality, and right of proper election was in the Clergy, and often ſo practiſed without any conſent at all, or intervening act of the people. The right, I ſay, was in the Biſhops, ſo it was decreed in the Nicene Councell, *ὁτις οὐκ ὀφείλει μὴ ἀλλὰ πᾶσι τῶν ἐκείνου ἐπισκόπων* Cas. 4.
ἐπιτάσσεται καθιſτάσθαι. The Biſhop muſt be appointed or conſtituted by all the Biſhops of the province, *ὅτι καὶ οὗτοι οὐκ ἀποδέχονται διδόναι καὶ ἑαλεῖν ἐπιτάσσας τῶν μετροπολίτην.*
It muſt be confirm'd, and eſtabliſhed by the METROPOLITAN. No Presbyters here all this while, no people. * But the exerciſe of this power is more clearly ſeen in the Acts of ſome Councells, where the Fathers degraded ſome Biſhops, and themſelves appointed others in their Roomes. * The Biſhops in the Councell of Conſtantinople depoſed Marcellus. *In cuius locum Baſilium in Ancyram miſerunt.*
They ſent Baſilius Biſhop in his room, ſaith Sozomen. * *Oſtendat Baſſianus ſuper Synodum Reverendissimorum Episcoporum, & consuetâ lege Episcopus Ephesiorum Metropolis est constitutus,* (ſaid the Fathers of the Councell of Chalcedo.) *Let Baſſianus ſhow that* AG. 11.
he was made BISHOP OF EPHEBUS BY A SYNOD OF BISHOPS, and according to the accuſtomed Law. The Law I ſhewed before, even the Nicene Canon. The fathers of which Councell ſent a Synodall Epiſtle to the Church of Alexandria, to tell them they had depoſed Melitius from the office of a Biſhop, only left him the name, but took from him all pow-

*Teipart. bish. cr. nullam verò omnimodò habere potestatem, neq.
lib. 2. cap. 12.*

ELIGENDI, NEQUE ORDINANDI: &c. Neither suffering him to choose nor to ordaine Clerks. It seems then that was part of the Episcopall office in ordinary, *placitos sibi eligere*, as the Epistle expresses it in the sequell, *to choose whom they listed*. But the Councell deposed *Melitus*, and sent *Alexander* their Bishop, and *Patriarch* to rule the Church againe. ** And particularly to come home to the case of the present question, when *Auxentius* Bishop of *Milaine* was dead, and the Bishops of the Province; and the Clergy of the Church, and the people of the City, were assembled at the choosing of another, the Emperour makes a speech to the Bishops only, that they should be carefull in their choyce. So that although the people were present, *quibus pro fide, & religione etiam honor deferendus est* (as *S. Cyprians* phrase is) *to whom respect is to be had, and faire complyings to be used so long as they are pious*, catholick, and obedient, yet both the right of electing, and solemnity of ordaining was in the Bishops, the peoples interest did not arrive to one halfe of this.

*Theodor. lib. 4.
c. 5.*

6. There are in Antiquity diverse precedents of Bishops, who chose their own successors; it will not be imagined the people will choose a Bishop over his head, and proclaime that they were weary of him. In those daies they had more piety. * *Agellius* did so, he chose *Sisinnius*, and that it may appear it was without the people, they came about him, and intreated him to choose *Marcian*, to whom

whom they had been beholding in the time of *Valens* the Emperour; he complied with them, and appointed *Marcian* to be his successor, and *Sisinnius* Socrat. lib. 5. whom he had first chosen, to succeed *Marcian*. * 6. 21. Thus did *Valerius* choose his successor, *S. Austin*; for though the people nam'd him for their Priest, and carried him to *Valerius* to take Orders, yet *Valerius* chose him Bishop. And this was usuall; *ὡς εἰς αἰ ἄλλαι πάλαι*, (as *Epiphanius* expressees this case,) it was ordinary to doe so in many Churches.

7. The manner of election in many Churches was various, for although indeed the Church had commanded it, and given power to the Bishops to make the election, yet in some times and in some Churches the Presbyters, or the Chapter, chose one out of themselves. *S. Hierome* saies they alwaies did so in *Alexandria*, from *S. Markes* time to *Heraclas* and *Dionysius*. * *S. Ambrose* saies that at the first, In Ephef. 4. the Bishop was not, by a formall new election promoted, but *recedente uno sequens ei succedebat*. As one dyed so the next senior did succeed him. In both these cases no mixture of the peoples votes.

8. In the Church of *England* the people were never admitted to the choyce of a Bishop from its first becoming Christian to this very day, and therefore to take it from the Clergy, in whom it alwaies was by permission of Princes, and to interest the people in it, isto recede à *traditionibus Majorum*, from the religion of our forefathers, and to INNOVATE in a high proportion.

9. In those Churches where the peoples suffrage
(by

(by way of testimony, I meane, and approbation) did concurre with the Synod of *Bishops* in the choyce of a *Bishop*, the people at last according to their usuall guise grew hot, angry, and tumultuous, and then were engaged by divisions in religion to Name a *Bishop* of their own sect; and to disgrace one another by publike scandall, and contestation, and often grew up to Sedition, and Murder; and therefore although they were never admitted, (unlesse where themselves usurped) farther then I have declared, yet even this was taken from them, especially, since in tumultuary assemblies, they were apt to carry all before them, they knew not how to distinguish between power, and right, they had not well learn'd to take deniall, but began to obtrude whom they list'd, to swell higher like a torrent when they were check'd; and the sole ship of election, which by the Ancient Canons was in the *Bishops*, they would have asserted wholly to themselves both in right, and execution.

* I end this with the annotation of *Zonaras* upon the twelfth Canon of the *Laodicean Councell*. *Populi suffragiis olim Episcopi eligebantur* (understand him in the senses above explicated) *Sed cum multa inde seditiones existerent, hinc factum est ut Episcoporum Vniuscujusq; provincia auctoritate eligi Episcopum quemq; oportere decreverint Patres*: of old time *Bishops* were chosen, not without the suffrage of the people (for they concurred by way of testimony and acclamation) but when this occasion'd many seditions and tumults, the Fathers decreed that a *Bishop*

shop should be chosen by the authority of the Bishops of the Province. And he adds that in the election of Damasus 137 men were slaine, and that sixe hundred examples more of that nature were producible.

Truth is, the Nomination of Bishops in Scripture was in the Apostles alone, and though the Kindred of our Blessed Saviour were admitted to the choyce of Simeon Cleopha, the Successor of S. James to the Bishoprick of Ierusalem, as Eusebius witnesses; it was *lib. 3. bish. cap. 11.* *propter singularem honorem*, an honorary, and extraordinary priviledge indulged to them for their vicinity and relation to our Blessed Lord the fountaine of all benison to us; and for that very reason Simeon himselte was chosen Bishop too. Yet this was *prater regulam Apostolicam*. The rule of the Apostles, and their precedents were for the sole right of the Bishops to choose their Colleagues in that Sacred order. * And then in descent, even before the Nicene Councell the people were forbidden to meddle in election, for they had no authority by Scripture to choose; by the necessity of times and for the reasons before asserted they were admitted to such a share of the choyce as is now folded up in a peice of paper, even to a testimoniall; and yet I deny not but they did often take more as in the case of Nilammon, *quem cives elegerunt*, saith *Tripart. bish. lib. 10. c. 14.* the story out of Sozomen, they chose him alone, (though God took away his life before himselte would accept of their choyce) and then they behav'd themselves oftentimes with so much in-

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solency,

vide dist. 63.
per tot.
Gratian.

solency, partiality, faction, sedition, cruelty, and Pagan baseness that they were quite interdicted it, above 1200 yeares agoe. * So that they had their little in possession but a little while, and never had any due, and therefore now, their request for it is no petition of right, but a popular ambition and a snatching at a sword to hew the Church in peices.

But I thinke I need not have troubled my selfe halfe so farte, for they that strive to introduce a popular election, would as faine have *Episcopacy* out, as popularity of election let in. So that all this of popular election of *Bishops*, may seeme superfluous. For I consider, that if the peoples power of choosing *Bishops* be founded upon *Gods law*, as some men pretend from S. *Cyprian* (not proving the thing from *Gods law*, but *Gods law* from S. *Cyprian*) then *Bishops* themselves must be by *Gods law*: For surely God never gave them power to choose any man into that office which himselfe hath no way instituted. And therefore I suppose these men will desist from their pretence of *Divine right of popular election*, if the Church will recede from her *divine right of Episcopacy*. But for all their plundering, and confounding, their bold pretences have made this discourse necessary.

§ 41.

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Vote in
Councells
and neither
Presbyters,
nor People.

IF we adde to all these foregoing particulars the power of making lawes to be in *Bishops*, nothing else can be required to the making up of a spirituall Principality. Now as I have shewne that the *Bishop* of every Diocesse did give lawes to his owne Church

Church for particulars, so it is evident that the lawes of Provinces and of the Catholike Church, were made by conventions of Bishops without the intervening, or concurrence of Presbyters, or any else for sentence and decision.

The instances of this are just so many as there are Councells. S. Athanasius reprehending Constantine the Arian for interposing in the Conciliary determinations of faith, *si judicium Episcoporum est* (saith he) *quid cum eo commune habet Imperator?* It is a judgment to be pass'd BY BISHOPS, (meaning the determination of the article,) and not proper for the Emperour. And when Hosius of Corduba reprov'd him for sitting President in a Councell, *Quis enim videns eum IN DECERNENDO PRINCIPEM SE FACERE EPISCOPORUM, non merito dicat illum eam ipsam abominationem desolationis.* He that sits President, makes himselfe chiefe of the Bishops, &c. intimating Bishops only to preside in Councells, and to make decision. And therefore *conventus Episcoporum*, and *Concilium Episcoporum* are the words for Generall, and Provinciaall Councells. *Bis in anno Episcoporum Concilia celebrentur*, said the 38th Canon of the Apostles; and *Congregatio Episcopalis* the Councell of Sardis is call'd by Theodoret. And when the Question was started in the time of Pope Victor about the celebration of Easter, *ob quam causam* (saith Eusebius) *conventus Episcoporum, & Concilia* lib. 5. cap. 23. *per singulas quasque provincias convocantur.* Where by the way, it is to be observeable, that at first, even provinciaall Synods were onely held by Bishops,

Epist. ad Solitar.

lib. 2. cap. 7.

and Presbyters had no interest in the decision; however we have of late sate so neere *Bishops* in Provinciall assemblies, that we have sate upon the *Bishops* skirts. But my Lords the *Bishops* have a concerning interest in this. To them I leave it; And because the foure generall Councells are the Precedents and chiefe of all the rest, I shall only instance in them for this particular.

1. The title of the *Nicene* Councell runs thus. *Kat'hus t'is t'riaxot'is t'egox'is aj'ion pat'ron t'is t'is Nic'iaj' t'ow'ia t'et'ow.* The *Canons of the 318 Fathers met in Nice*: These Fathers were all that gave suffrage to the *Canons*, for if there had been more, the title could not have appropriated the Sanction to 318. And that there were no more S. *Ambrose* gives testimony in that he makes it to be a mysticall number; *Nam & Abraham trecentos decem & octo duxit ad bellum De Concilijs id potissimum sequor quod trecenti decem & octo Sacerdotes velut trophaum extulerunt, ut mihi videatur hoc esse Divinum, quod eodem numero in Concilijs, fidei habemus oraculum, quo in historia, pietatis exemplum.* Well! 318 was the Number of the *Judges*, the *Nicene Fathers*, and they were all *Bishops*, for so is the title of the subscriptions, *Subscripserunt trecenti decem & octo EPISCOPI qui in eodem Concilio convenerunt*; 13. whereof were *Chorepiscopi*, but not one *Presbyter*, save onely that *Vitus*, and *Vincentius* subscribed as legates of the *Bishop of Rome*, but not by their owne authority.

2. The great Councell of *Constantinople* was
; celebra-

proem. in lib.
de fide.

celebrated by 150 Bishops: *ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα ἀ-
γίων πατέρων ἃ ἐκ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως συναλεθόντων*, That's the
title of the Canons. *The Canons of 150 holy Fathers
who met in C. P.* and that these were all Bishops ap-
peares by the title of S. Gregory Nazianzen's oration
in the beginning of the Councell. *τῷ ἀγίῳ Γρηγορίῳ ὁ
Ναζιανζεύῳ συντακτικῇ ἐκ τῶν ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα ἐπισκο-
πων παρούσῃ*. *The oration of S. Gregory Nazianzen in
the presence of 150 Bishops.* And of this Councell it
was that Socrates speaking, *Imperator* (saith he)
nullā morā interpositā Concilium EPISCOPORUM lib. 5. cap. 8.
convocat. Here indeed some few Bishops appear'd
by Proxy as *Montanus Bishop of Claudiopoli* by
Paulus a Presbyter, and *Atarbius Bishop of Pontus*
by *Cylus* a Reader, and about some fowre or five
more. * This onely, amongst the subscriptions I
find *Tyrannus, Auxanon, Helladius, and Elpidius*
calling themselves Presbyters. But their modesty
hinders not the truth of the former testimonies;
They were Bishops, saith the title of the Councell,
and the Oration, and the Canons, and Socrates; And
least there be scruple concerning *Auxanon Presby-
ter Apamea*, because before, *Iohannes Apameensis*
subscribed, which seemes to intimate that one of
them was the Bishop, and the other but a Presbyter
indeed, without a subterfuge of modesty, the titles
distinguishes them. For *John* was Bishop in the
Province of *Cele Syria*, and *Auxanon* of *Apamea* in
Pisidia.

3. The third was the Councell of *Ephesus*, *Epif-
coporum plurimum quā ducentorum*, as is often said

Epist. Synod.
ad Clerum C.
Pratum. part.
2. aff. 3.
part. 1. c. 32.
Vile S. 36. de
simil. jere
quæstione in
fine.

in the acts of the Councell [*of above 200 Bishops.*] But no Presbyters, for, *Cum Episcopi supra ducentos extiterint qui Nestorium deposuerunt, horum subscriptionibus contenti fuimus.* We were content with the subscription of the 200 and odd Bishops, saith the Councell; and Theodosius junior, in his Epistle to the Synod, *Illicitum est* (saith he) *eum qui non sit in ordine sanctissimorum Episcoporum Ecclesiasticis immisceri tractatibus.* It is unlawfull for any but them who are in the order of the most holy Bishops, to be interested in Ecclesiasticall assemblies.

4. The last of the foure great conventions of Christendome was, *sexcentorum triginta Episcoporum*, of 630 Bishops at Chalcedon in Bithynia. But in all these assemblies, no meere Presbyters gave suffrage except by legation from his Bishop, and delegation of authority. And therefore when in this Councell some Laicks, and some Monks, and some Clergy-men, not Bishops, would interest themselves Pulcheria the Empreſse sent letters to Consularius to repell them by force; *si præter nostram evocationem, aut permissionem suorum Episcoporum ibidem commorantur, who come without command of the Empreſse, or the Bishops permission.* Where it is observable that the Bishops might bring Clerks with them to assist, to dispute, and to be present in all the action; And thus they often did suffer Abbots, or Archimandrites to be there, and to subscribe too, but that was *præter regulam*, and by indulgence only, and condescension; For when Martinus the Abbot was requested to subscribe he answered, *Non suum*

Action. 1. Con-
cil. Chalced.

sum esse, sed Episcoporum tantum subscribere, it belong'd only to Bishops to subscribe to Councells. For this reason the Fathers themselves often call'd out in the Councell, *Mitte foras superfluos, Concilium Episcoporum est.*

But I need not more particular arguments, for till the Councell of *Basil*, the Church never admitted Presbyters as in their own right to voyce in Councells, and that Councell we know favour'd too much of the Schismatick, but before this Councell, no example, no president of subscriptions of the Presbyters either to Oecumenicall, or Provinciaall Synods. Indeed to a Diocesan Synod, *viz.* that of *Auxerre* in *Burgundy*, I find 32 Presbyters subscribing. This Synod was neither Oecumenicall nor Provinciaall, but meerely the Convocation of a Diocesse. For here was but one Bishop, and some few Abbots, and 32 Presbyters. It was indeed no more then a visitation, or the calling of a Chapter, for of this we receive intimation in the *seaventh Canon* of that assembly, *ut in medio Maio omnes Presbyteri ad Concil. Ant-*
Synodum venirent, that was their summons, & *in* *fiodor. can. 7.*
Novembri omnes Abbates ad Concilium: so that here is intimation of a yearely Synod besides the first convention, the greatest of them but Diocesan, and therefore the lesser but *conventus Capitularis*, or however not enough to give evidence of a subscription of Presbyters to so much as a Provinciaall Councell. For the guise of Christendome was alwaies otherwise, and therefore it was the best argument that the Bishops in the *Arian* hurry used to acquit

Socrat. lib. 2. *nos sumus Arian sectatores; Qui namq. fieri potest, ut cum simus Episcopi Ario Presbytero auscultemus?*
6. 7.

Epist. 3. per
Kusfinum.

quit themselves from the suspicion of heresy, *Neg. nos sumus Arian sectatores; Qui namq. fieri potest, ut cum simus Episcopi Ario Presbytero auscultemus?* Bishops never receive determination of any article from Priests, but Priests doe from Bishops. *Nam vestrum est eos instruere* (saith S. Clement speaking of the Bishops office and power over Priests and all the Clergy, and all the Diocesse) *eorum est vobis obedire, ut Deo cuius legatione fungimini.* And a little after, *Audire ergo eum attentius oportet, & ab ipso suscitare doctrinam fidei, monita autem vitæ à Presbyteris inquirere.* Of the Priests we must inquire for rules of good life, but of the Bishop receive positions and determinations of faith.

Hebr. 13. 7.
17.
1. Pet. 5. 2.
A. 20.

Epist. 69.

Against this if it be objected, *Quod omnes tangit ab omnibus tractari debet, That which is of generall concernement, must also be of generall Scrutiny.* I answer, it is true, unlesse where God himselfe hath intrusted the care of others in a body, as he hath in the Bishops; and will require the soules of his Diocesse at his hand, and commanded us to require the Law at their mouths, *and to follow their faith,* whom he hath set over us. And therefore the determination of Councells pertains to all, and is handled by all, not in diffusion but in representation. For, *Ecclesia est in Episcopo, & Episcopus in Ecclesiâ,* (saith S. Cyprian) *the Church is in the Bishop (viz. by representment) and the Bishop is in the Church (viz. as a Pilot in a ship, or a Master in a family, or rather as a steward, and Guardian to rule in his Masters absence) and for this reason the Synod of the*

Nicene

Nicene Bishops is called (in Eusebius) *conventus orbis terrarum*, and by S. Austin, *consensus totius Ecclesiae*, not that the whole Church was there present in their severall persons , but was there represented by the Catholike Bishops , and if this representment be not sufficient for obligation to all, I see no reason but the Ladyes too, may vote in Councells, for I doubt not, but they have soules too.

Lib. 3. de vitâ
Constant. lib.
de baptis. cap.
18.

But however, if this argument were concluding in it selfe, yet it looses its force in England, where the Clergy are bound by Lawes of Parliament, and yet in the capacity of Clergy-men are allowed to choosse neither Procurators to represent us as Clergy, nor Knights of the shire to represent us as Commons. * In conclusion of this I say to the Presbyters as S. Ambrose said of the Lay-judges, whom the Arians would have brought to judge in Councell (it was an old hereticall trick.) *Veniant pland si qui sunt ad Ecclesiam, audiant cum populo, non ut quisquam Iudex resideat, sed unusquisq. de suo affectu habeat examen, & eligat quem sequatur.* So may Presbyters be present, so they may judge, not for others, but for themselves. And so may the people be present, and anciently were so; and therefore Councells were alwaies kept in open Churches, [*ubi populus iudicat*] not for others, but for themselves, not by externall sentence, but internall conviction, so S. Ambrose expounds himselfe in the forecited allegation.

Epist. 32.

There is no considerable objection against this discourse but that of the first Councell of Jerusalem;

O O

where

where the *Apostles*, and *ELDERS* did meet together to DETERMINE of the question of circumcision. For although in the story of celebration of it, we find no man giving sentence but *Peter*, and *James*; yet in 16. *Acts*, they are called *ἄνθρωποι καὶ ἐπίσκοποι καὶ πρεσβύτεροι*, decrees JUDGED by the *Apostles*, and *Elders*. But first, in this the difficulty is the lesse, because [*Presbyter*] was a generall word for all that were not of the number of the twelve, *Prophets*, *Evangelists*, *Pastors*, and *Doctors*. And then secondly, it is none at all, because *Paul*, and *Barnabas* are signally, and by name reckoned as present in the Synod, and one of them Prolocutor, or else both. So that such *Presbyters* may well define in such conventuall assemblies. 3. If yet there were any difficulty latent in the story, yet the Catholick practice of Gods Church, is certainly the best expofitor of such places where there either is any difficulty, or where any is pretended. And of this, I have already given account.

* I remember also that this place is pretended for the peoples power of voycing in Councells. It is a pretty pageant; onely that it is against the Catholick practice of the Church, against the exigence of Scripture, which bids us require the law at the Mouth of our spirituall Rulers, against the gravity of such assemblies, for it would force them to be tumultuous, and at the best, are the worst of Sanctions, as being issues of popularity, and to summe up all, it is no way authoriz'd by this first copy of Christian Councells. The pretence is, in the Synodall

dall * letter written in the name of [*the Apostles, and Elders, and Brethren*] that is, (saies Geta,) *The Apostles, and Presbyters, and People.* But why not BRETHREN, that is, all the *Deacons, and Evangelists, and Helpers* in Governement, and *Ministers* of the Churches? There is nothing either in words, or circumstances to contradict this. If it be ask'd who then are meant by Elders, if by [*Brethren*] S. Luke understands these Church officers? I answer, that here is such variety, that although I am not certain which officers he precisely comprehends under the distinct titles of Elders, and Brethren, yet here are enough to furnish both with variety, and yet neither to admit *meere Presbyters* in the present acceptation of the word, nor yet the *Laity* to a decision of the question, nor authorizing the decreerall. For besides the *twelve Apostles*, there were *Apostolicall men* which were Presbyters, and something more, as *Paul and Barnabas, and Silas*; and *Evangelists*, and *Pastors* besides, which might furnish out the last appellative sufficiently. But however without any further trouble it is evident, that this word [*Brethren*] does not distinguish the Laity from the Clergy. [*Now when they heard this, they were pricked in their hearts, and said unto PETER, and to the rest of the APOSTLES, Men and BRETHREN what shall we doe. Indas and Silas* who were Apostolicall men, are called in Scripture, chiefe men among the BRETHREN. But this is too known, to need a contestation.

I only insert the saying of *Basilus* the Emperour

in the 8th Synod. *De vobis autem Laicis tam qui in dignitatibus, quàm qui absolute versamini quid amplius dicam non habeo, quàm quòd nullo modo vobis licet de Ecclesiasticis causis sermonem movere, neq̃, penitus resistere integritati Ecclesie, & universali Synodo adversari.* Lay-men (saies the Emperour) must by no means meddle with causes Ecclesiasticall, nor oppose themselves to the Catholick Church, or Councells Oecumenicall. They must not meddle, for these things appertaine to the cognisance of Bishops and their decision. * And now after all this, what authority is equall to this LEGISLATIVE of the Bishops? *μάλις αὖ οἷς ἀπλῶς ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρχαὶς λαϊκῶν ταύτης ὅπως ἀποστῆναι, βελδύσαντες τὸ θεῖον πρῶτον, καὶ κεῖται καὶ ὀπιπάζει, καὶ μάλις τῷτο· τὸ γὰρ ὀπιπάζειν ἀρχαίοντες, (saith Aristotle.)* They are all evidences of power and authority, to deliberate, to determine, or judge, to make lawes. But to make lawes is the greatest power that is imaginable. The first may belong fairely enough to Presbyters, but I have proved the two latter to be appropriate to Bishops.

Lib. 4. polit.
c. 15.

§ 42.
And the
Bishop had
a propriety
in the per-
sons of his
Clerks,

Lastly, as if all the acts of jurisdiction, and every imaginable part of power were in the Bishop, over the Presbyters & subordinate Clergy, the Presbyters are said to be *Episcoporum Presbyteri*, the Bishops Presbyters, as having a propriety in them, and therefore a superiority over them, and as the Bishop was a dispenser of those things which were in bonis Ecclesie, so he was of the persons too, a Ruler in propriety. * S. Hilary in the book which him-

himselfe delivered to *Constantine*, *Ecclesia adhuc* (saith he) *per Presbyteros MEOS communionem distribuens*, I still give the holy Communion to the faithfull people by MY Presbyters. And therefore in the third Councell of *Carthage* a great deliberation was had about requiring a Clerke of his Bishop, to be promoted in another Church, *Deniq; qui unum habuerit numquid debet illi ipse unus Presbyter auferri?* (saith *Posthumianus*.) If the Bishop have but one Presbyter must that one be taken from him. *Can. 45. Conc. cil. Carthag.* *Id sequor* (saith *Aurelius*) *ut conveniam Episcopum ejus, atq; ei inculcem quod ejus Clericus à quâlibet Ecclesiâ postuletur.* And it was resolved, *ut Clericum alienum nisi concedente ejus Episcopo.* No man shall retaine another Bishop's without the consent of the Bishop whose Clerk he is.

* When *Athanasius* was abused by the calumny of the hereticks his adversaries, and entred to purge himselfe, *Athanasius ingreditur cum Timotheo Presbytero Suo.* He comes in with Timothy His Presbyter, and, *Arsenius, cujus brachium dicebatur excisum, lector aliquando fuerat Athanasii.* *Arsenius* was *Athanasius* His Reader. *Vbi autem ventum est ad Rumores de poculo fracto à Macario Presbytero Athanasii, &c.* *Macarius* was another of *Athanasius* His Priests. So *Theodoret*, *Peter*, and *Irenaeus* were two more of his Presbyters, as himselfe witnesses. *Paulinianus* comes sometimes to visit us (saith *S. Hierome* to *Pammachius*) but not as your Clerke, sed *Athanasius* ejus à quo ordinatur. His Clerk who did ordaine him.

Eccles. hist. lib. 10. cap. 17.

Lib. 2. cap. 8.

Athanasius. Epist. ad vitam solitariam.

But these things are too known to need a multiplication of instances.

The summe is this. The question was, whether or no, and how farre the *Bishops* had *Superiority* over *Presbyters* in the Primitive Church. Their doctrine, and practice have furnished us with these particulars. The power of Church goods, and the sole dispensation of them, and a propriety of persons was reserved to the Bishop. For the Clergy, and Church possessions were in his power, in his administration: the Clergy might not travaile without the Bishops leave: they might not be preferred in another Diocesse without license of their own Bishop: in their own Churches the Bishop had sole power to preferre them, and they must undertake the burden of any promotion if he calls them to it: without him they might not baptize, not consecrate the Eucharist, not communicate, not reconcile penitents, not preach, not onely, not without his ordination, but not without a speciall faculty besides the capacity of their order: The Presbyters were bound to obey their Bishops in their sanctions, and canonicall impositions, even by the decree of the *Apostles* themselves, and the doctrine of *Ignatius*, and the constitution of *S. Clement*, of the Fathers in the Councell of *Arles*, *Ancyra*, and *Toledo*, and many others: The Bishops were declared to be *Indges* in ordinary of the Clergy, and people of their Diocesse by the concurrent suffrages of almost 2000 holy Fathers assembled in *Nice*, *Ephesus*, *Chalcedon*, in *Carthage*, *Antioch*, *Sardis*, *Aquileia*, *Taurinum*,

Taurinum, Agatho, and by the Emperour, and by the *Apostles*; and all this attested by the constant practice of the Bishops of the Primitive Church inflicting censures upon delinquents, and absolving them as they saw cause, and by the dogmaticall resolution of the old Catholicks declaring in their attributes, and appellatives of the *Episcopall* function that they have supreme, and universall spirituall power, (*viz.* in the sense above explicated) over all the Clergy and Laity of their Diocesse, as, [*that they are higher then all power, the image of God, the figure of Christ, Christs Vicar, President of the Church, Prince of Priests, of authority incomparable, unparalleld power,*] and many more, if all this be witnesse enough of the superiority of *Episcopall* jurisdiction, we have their depositions, wee may proceed as we see cause for, and reduce our Episcopacy to the primitive state, for that is truly a reformation [*id Dominicum quod primum, id haereticum quod posterius*] and then we shall be sure Episcopacy will loole nothing by these unfortunate contestations.

§. 43.
BUT against the cause, it is objected *super totam* Their Jurisdiction *Materiam*, that Bishops were not Diocesan, but jurisdiction Parochiall, and therefore of so confin'd a jurisdiction was over on that perhaps our Village, or Citty Priests shall many congregations, advance their Pulpit, as high as the Bishops throne. or Parishes,
 * Well! put case they were not Diocesan, but parish Bishops, what then? yet they were such Bishops as had Presbyters, and Deacons in subordination

tion to them, in all the particular advantages of the former instances.

2. If the *Bishops* had the *Parishes*, what cure had the *Priests*? so that this will debate the *Priests* as much as the *Bishops*, and if it will confine a *Bishop* to a *Parish*, it will make that no *Presbyter* can be so much as a *Parish-Priest*. If it brings a *Bishop* lower then a *Diocese*, it will bring the *Priest* lower then a *Parish*. For let a *Bishop* where you will, either in a *Diocese*, or a *Parish*, a *Presbyter* shall still keep the same duty and subordination, the same distance still. So that this objection upon supposition of the former discourse, will no way mend the matter for any side, but make it farre worse, it will not advance the *Presbytery*, but it will depresse the whole hierarchy, and all the orders of H. Church.

* But because, this trifle is so much used amongst the enemies of *Episcopacy*, I will consider it in little, and besides that it does no body any good advantage, I will represent it in it's *fucus* and show the falsehood of it.

1. Then. It is evident that there were *Bishops* before there were any distinct *Parishes*. For the first division of *Parishes* in the West was by *Evaristus*, who lived almost 100 years after Christ, and divided *Rome* into seven *parishes*, assigning to every one a *Presbyter*. So *Damasus* reports of him in the Pontificall book. *Hic titulos in urbe Roma divisi Presbyteris, & septem Diaconos ordinavit qui custodirent Episcopum pradicantem propter stylum veritatis.* He divided the *Parishes*, or titles in the City of
Rome

Rome to Presbyters. The same also is by Damasus reported of Dionysius in his life, *hic Presbyteris Ecclesias divisit, & camiteria, parochiasq; & diœceses constituit.* Marcellus increased the number in the year 305. *Hic fecit camiterium viâ Salarîâ, & 25 Titulos in urbe Roma constituit quasi diœceses propter baptismum, & pœnitentiam multorum qui convertebantur ex Paganis, & propter sepulturas Martyrum.* He made a Sepulture, or camitery for the buriall of Martyrs, and appointed 25. Titles or Parishes: but he addes [*quasi Diœceses*] as it had been diocesses, that is, distinct and limited to Presbyters, as diocesses were to Bishops, and the use of parishes which he subjoynes, clears the businesse; for he appointed them onely propter baptismum, & pœnitentiam multorum & sepulturas, for baptisme, and penance, and buriall; for as yet there was no preaching in Parishes, but in the Mother-Church. Thus it was in the West.

* But in *Egypt* we find Parishes divided something sooner then the earliest of these, for *Eusebius* reports out of *Philo* that the Christians in *S. Markes* Lib. 2. *bis*: time had severall Churches in *Alexandria.* *Etiâm* cap. 17.

DE ECCLESIIS quæ apud eos sunt, ita dicit. Est autem in singulis locis consecrata orationi domus &c: But even before this, there were Bishops. For in Rome there were *sowre* Bishops before any division of Parishes, though *S. Peter* be reckon'd for none. And before Parishes were divided in *Alexandria*, *S. Marke* himselfe who did it was the Bishop, and before that time *S. James* was Bishop of *Iernsalem*, and

in diverse other places where Bishops were, there were no distinct Parishes of a while after *Evaristus* time, for when *Dionysius* had assign'd Presbyters to severall Parishes, he writes of it to *Severus Bishop of Corduba*, & desires him to doe so too in his Diocese, as appears in his Epistle to him.

apud Binium.
tom. 1. Concil.
* Euseb. lib.
6. cap. 43.
Apolog. c. 37.

* For indeed necessity requir'd it, when the Christians multiplyed and grew to be *plures* & *audis*, as * *Cornelius* call'd the Roman Christians, a great and innumerable people, and did *implere omnia*, as *Tertullians* phrase is, fill'd all places, and publike and great assemblies drew danger upon themselves, and increased jealousies in others, and their publike offices could not be perform'd with so diffused and particular advantage, then they were forc'd to divide congregations, and assigne severall Presbyters to their cure, in subordination to the Bishop, and sowe see, the elder Christianity grew, the more Parishes there were. At first in Rome there were none, *Evaristus* made seven, *Dionysius* made some more, and *Marcellus* added 15, and in *Optatus* time there were 40.

lib. 2. contr.
Parmenian.

Well then! The case is thus. Parishes were not divided at first, therefore to be sure they were not of Divine institution. Therefore it is no divine institution that a Presbyter should be fixt upon a Parish, therefore also a Parish is not by Christs ordinance an independant body, for by Christs ordinance there was no such thing at all, neither absolute, nor in dependance neither, and then for the maine issue, since Bishops were before Parishes (in the present sense)
the

the *Bishops* in that sense could not be *Parochiall*.

* But which was first, a private congregation, or a *Diocesse*? If a private congregation, then a *Bishop* was at first fix'd in a private congregation, and so was a *Parochiall Bishop*. If a *Diocesse* was first, then the Question will be, how a *Diocesse* could be without *Parishes*, for what is a *Diocesse* but a jurisdiction over many *Parishes*?

* I answer, it is true that *Diocesse* and *Parish* are words us'd now in contradistinction, And now, a *Diocesse* is nothing but the multiplication of of many *Parishes*: *Sed non fuit sic ab initio*, For at first, a *Diocesse* was the *Citie* and the *Regio suburbicaria*, the neighbouring townes, in which there was no distinction of *Parishes*: That which was a *Diocesse* in the secular sense, that is, a particular Province, or division of secular prefecture, that was the assignation of a *Bishops* charge. * *Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamus, Laodicea*, were *κεφαλαι διοικησεων*, heads of the *Diocesses*, (saith *Pliny*,) meaning in respect of secular jurisdiction; and so they were in Ecclesiasticall regiment. And it was so upon great reason, for when the regiment of the Church was extended just so as the regiment of the Common-wealth, it was of lesse suspicion to the secular power, while the Church regiment was just fixt together with the politicall, as if of purpose to shew their mutuall consistence, and it's owne subordination. ** And besides this, there was in it a necessity; for the subjects of another Province, or *Diocesse*, could not either safely, or conveniently meete where the duty of the

*lib. 5. cap. 29.
c. 30.
Vide Baron.
A. D. 39. n.
10. c. 8.
Rhenan. in
notit. provinc.
Imperial. in
descript.
Ilyric.*

* Can. 17.

† Can. 38.

Common-wealth did not ingage them; but being all of one prefecture, and Diocesse, the necessity of publike meetings in order to the Common-wealth would be faire opportunity for the advancement of their Christendome. And this, which at first was a necessity in this case, grew to be a law in all, by the sanction of the Councell of * *Chalcedon*, and of *Constantinople* in † *Trullo*, τοῖς πατρικοῖς, ἡ δυνάμει τοῦτον, ἡ ἑκκλησιαστικῶν ἀρχαίων ἡ τῆς ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς. *Let the order of the Church, follow the order and guise of the Common-wealth, viz. in her regiment, and prefecture.*

* But in the moderne sense of this division a Bishops charge was neither a *Parish*, nor a *Diocesse*, as they are taken in relation; but a Bishop had the supreme care of all the Christians which he by himselfe, or his Presbyters had converted, and he also had the charge of indeavouring the conversion of all the Country. So that although he had not all the Diocesse actually in communion and subjection, yet his charge, his Diocesse was so much. Iust as it was with the *Apostles*, to whom Christ gave all the world for a Diocesse, yet at first they had but a small congregation that did actually obey them.

And now to the Question. Which was first, a particular congregation or a Diocesse? I answered, that a *Diocesse* was first, that is, the *Apostles* had a charge before they had a congregation of converts; And *S. Marke* was sent Bishop to *Alexandria* by *S. Peter* before any were converted. * But ordinarily the *Apostles*, when they had converted a City or Nation,

Nation, then fix't *Bishops* upon their charge, and there indeed the particular congregation was before the *Bishop's* taking of the *Diocesse*; But then, this City, or Nation although it was not the *Bishops Diocesse* before it was a particular congregation, yet it was part of the *Apostles Diocesse*, and this they concredited to the *Bishops* respectively.

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2. We see that the Primitive *Bishops*, before the division of parishes, had the City, and Country; and after the division of parishes, had them all under his jurisdiction, and ever, even from the *Apostles* times had severall provinces (some of them I meane) within their limits and charges. * The 35 *Canon* of

* Can. 17.

† Can. 38.

Common-wealth did not ingage them; but being all of one prefecture, and Diocesse, the necessity of publike meetings in order to the Common-wealth would be faire opportunity for the advancement of their Christendome. And this, which at first was a necessity in this case, grew to be a law in all, by the sanction of the Councell of * Chalcedon, and of Constantinople in † Trullo, τῶν πατρῶν, ἡ συνάσις τῶν ἐν ἡμεῖς Ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πραγμάτων ἡ τοῦ αἵματος. *Let the order of the Church, follow the order and guise of the Common-wealth, viz. in her regiment, and prefecture.*

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the *Apostles* gives power to the *Bishop* to dispose only of those things *τα εἰς τὴν κοινὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τὰς ἐκείνης ἐκκλησίας ἐκκλησίας*, which are under his *Diocese* & the *Neighbour-villages*, and the same thing is repeated in the ninth and tenth *Canons* of the *Councell* of *Antioch* calling it *ἀρχαῖον καὶ πατρίον ἡμῶν νόμον*, the *Ancient Canon* of our *forefathers*; and yet it selfe is elder then three of the generall *Councells*, and if then it was an *Ancient Canon* of the *Fathers*, that the *City* and *Villages* should be subject to the *Bishop*, surely a *Primitive Bishop* was a *Diocesan*.

Can. 6.

But a little before this was the *Nicene Councell*, and there I am sure we have a *Bishop* that is at least a *Diocesan*. *τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἴδια ἐκκλησία*. Let the old *Customes* be kept. What are those? *τὰ ἐν Ἀρχιεπισκοπῇ καὶ Λιβύῃ, καὶ Πενταπόλει*. *ὡς καὶ Ἀλεξανδρίας ἐπίσκοπος πάλαι τὴν τοιαύτην ἔχεν*. Let the *Bishop* of *Alexandria* have power over *All Egypt*, *Libya*, and *Pentapolis*: It was a good large *Parish*; And yet this *parish* if we have a mind to call it so, was *εἰς τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἴδιον*, according to the old *custome* of their *forefathers*, and yet that was so early that *S. Anthony* was then alive, who was borne in *S. Irenaeus* his time, who was himselfe but second from the *Apostles*.

It was also a good large *parish* that *Ignatius* was *Bishop* of, even all *Syria*, *Celestria*, *Mesopotamia*, and both the *Cilicia*. *Ἐπίσκοπος Συρίας*, The *Bishop* of *Syria* he calls himselfe in his *epistle* to the *Romans*, and

lib. 5. ca. 23.

Action. 7.

ὁ καὶ ἀνταλω ἐμνησμένος ὁ ἁγίως, so *Theodore*: and besides all these, his *Successors*, in the *Councell* of *Chalcedon*, had the two *Phanicia*, and *Arabia* yielded

to them by composition. These alone would have made two or three reasonable good parishes, and would have taken up time enough to perambulate, had that been then the guise of Christendome. * But examples of this kind are infinite. *Theodorus* Bishop ^{Epist. ad Le-} of *Cyprus* was Pastor over 800 parishes, *Athanasius* ^{on. 1. Epist. Rom.} was Bishop of *Alexandria*, *Egypt*, *Thebais*, *Mared.* ^{Heref. 68.} *tis*, *Libya*, *Ammoniaca*, and *Pentapolis*, saith *S. Epiphanius*; And his predecessor *Iulianus*, successor of *Agrippinus*, was Bishop * *ἡ ἐκ τῶν Ἀλεξανδρινῶν ἐκκλησιῶν*, * ^{Concil. Chal-} of the Churches about *Alexandria*. Either it was a ^{ead. a7. 16.} Diocese, or at least a plurality. * † *S. Chrysostome* † ^{Theodoret.} had *Pontus*, *Asia*, and all *Thrace* in his parish, even ^{lib. 5. c. 28.} as much as came to sixteen prefectures; a faire bounds surely; and so it was with all the Bishops, a greater, or a lesser Diocese they had; but all were Diocesan; for they had severall parishes, *singuli Ecclesiarum Episcopi habent sub se Ecclesias*, saith *Epiphanius* in his epistle to *Iohn* of *Ierusalem*, and in his ^{Apud S. Hieron. heref. 69.} book *contra hereses*, *Quotquot enim in Alexandria Catholica Ecclesia sunt, sub uno Archiepiscopo sunt, privatimq; ad has destinati sunt Presbyteri propter Ecclesiasticas necessitates, ita ut habitatores vicini sint uniuscujusq; Ecclesia.* * All *Italy* was the parish of ^{Lib. 4. c. 12.} *Liberius* (saith *Socrates*.) *Africa* was *S. Cyprians* ^{Encom. Cyprian.} parish, saith *S. Gregory Nazianzen*, and *S. Basil* the Great was parish-Priest to all *Cappadocia*. But I rather believe if we examine their severall stories they will rather prove *Metropolitans*, then meere parochians. ^{S. 7. tom. lib. 5. c. 18.} ^{Vide apud Euseb. lib. 5. c. 22.}

3^d. The ancient *Canons* forbad a Bishop to be ordained.

Can. 56.

Can. 6.

dain'd in a Village, Castle, or Towne. It was so decreed in the Councell of *Laodicea* before the first *Nicene*. ἐν ἡ δὲ ἐν τῷ κώμῃ καὶ ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ καθίσταται Ἐπισκοπός. In the Villages, or Countries, *Bishops* must not be constituted. And this was renewed in the Councell of *Sardis*, καὶ ἐξέταται ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπισκόπων ἐν τοῖς κώμῃ καὶ ἐν τοῖς χωρίοις θέλει ἡ πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνους προεβύτηται ἱεραρχία. It is not lawfull to ordaine *Bishops* in Villages or little Townes to which one *Presbyter* is sufficient, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπισκοπὸς ἐν ταῖς κώμῃ καὶ ἐν τοῖς χωρίοις ἐπισκοπὸς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν καὶ ἐν ταῖς κώμῃ καὶ ἐν τοῖς χωρίοις ἱεραρχία, but *Bishops* must ordaine *Bishops* in those Cities where *Bishops* formerly have been. * So that this Canon does not make a new Constitution, but perpetuates the old sanction. *Bishops ab antiquo* were only ordain'd in great Citties, and *Presbyters* to little Villages. Who then was the Parish Curate? the Bishop or the Priest? The case is too apparent.

Onely, here it is objected that some *Bishops* were of small Townes, and therefore these *Canons* were not observed, and *Bishops* might be, and were parochiall, as *S. Gregory* of *Naxianzum*, *Zoticus* of *Comana*, *Maris* in *Dolicha*. The one of these is called

* *Lib. g. c. 16.* κώμῃ by * *Eusebius*; and another πόλιν by † *Theo-*

† *Lib. 5. cap. 4.* doret, a little Towne. This is all is pretended for this great Scarcrow of parochiall *Bishops*.

But, first, suppose these had been parishes, and these three parochiall *Bishops*, it followes not that all were; not those to be sure, which I have proved to have been *Bishops* of *Provinces*, and *Kingdomes*. 2^d It is a cleare case, that *Naxianzum* though

though a small City, yet was the seat of a Bishops throne, so it is reckoned in the *Harvumne* made by Leo the Emperour, where it is accounted *inter thronos Ecclesiarum Patriarcha Constantinopolitano subiectarum*, & is in the same account with *Casarea*, with *Ephesus*, with *Crete*, with *Philippi*, and almost fourescore more. * As for *Zoticus*, he indeed came from *Comana*, a Village towne, for there he was born, but he was *Episcopus Otrenus*, Bishop of *Otreia* in *Armenia*, saith † *Nicephorus*. * And for *Maris* the Bishop of *Dalicha*, it was indeed such a small City as *Nazianzus* was, but that proves not but his Diocesse and territory was large enough. Thus was *Asclepius* *vici non grandis*, but yet he was *Vagensis territorii Episcopus*. His seat might usually be in a little City, if it was one of those townes in which according to the exigence of the Canons *ἵνα ὁ οἰκιστὴς ἐπὶ τῶν χαλκῶν καθέσθαι* *Entromis* in which Bishops anciently were ordain'd, and yet the appurtenances of his Diocesse large, and extended, and too great for 100 Parish Priests.

4ly. The institution of *Chorepiscopi* proves most evidently that the Primitive Bishops were Diocesan, not Parochiall: for they were instituted to assist the Bishop in part of his Country-charge, and were *μεθ' αὐτοῦ* *Visitors*, (as the Councell of *Laodicea* calls them.) But what need such Suffragans, such coadjutors to the managing of a *Parish*. Indeed they might possibly have been needfull for the managing of a City-parish, especially if a whole City was a Parish, as these objectors must pretend, or not say

Ius Græcorum p. 89.

Vide Baron. An. Dom. 205. n. 27.

† Lib. 4. c. 25.

Gennad. apud Hieron. Ioh. de Tristenheim de script. Eccles.

Primitive Bishops were Parochiall. But being these *Chorepiscopi* were *Suffragans* to the Bishop, and did their offices in the country, while the Bishop was resident in the City, either the Bishops parish extended it selfe from City to Country; and then it is all one with a *Diocese*, or else we can find no employment for a *Chorepiscopus*, or Visiter. * The tenth Canon of the Councell of *Antioch*, describes their use and power. *Qui in villis & vicis constituti sunt Chorepiscopi placuit sancta Synodo ut modum proprium recognoscant, ut gubernent sibi subiectas Ecclesias.* They were to governe the Churches delegated to their charge. It seems they had many Churches under their provision, and yet they were but the Bishops Vicars, for so it followes in the Canon; he must not ordaine any Presbyters, and Deacons *absq[ue] urbis Episcopo cui ipse subijcitur, & Rego;* Without leave of the Bishop of the City to whom both him selfe, and all the Country is subordinate.

5. The Bishop was one in a City wherein were many Presbyters. *ἡ ἐκκλησία ἡμῶν ἓν ἔστιν ὡς ἐν ἑκαστῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἓν ἔστιν ἱερεὺς καὶ ἓν ἔστιν ἐπίσκοπος, καὶ ἓν ἔστιν ἑκκλησία.* saith S. Ignatius. There is one Altar in every Church, and ONE BISHOP together with the Presbytery, and the Deacons. Either then a whole City, such as *Rome*, or *Ierusalem* (which as *Iosephus* reports had 400 Synagogues,) must be but one Parish, and then they had as good call a Bishops charge a *Diocese*, as a Parish in that latitude; Or if there were many Parishes in a City, and the Bishop could have but one

Epist. ad Philadelph.

of them, why, what hindred but that there might in a City be as many Bishops, as Presbyters? For if a Bishop can have but one Parish, why may not every Parish have a Bishop? But by the ancient *Canons*, a City though never so great, could have but one for it selfe and all the Country, therefore every parish-Priest was not a Bishop, nor the Bishop a meere parish-Priest.

Ne in unâ civitate duo sint Episcopi, was the Constitution of the *Nicene* Fathers as saith *Ruffinus*; and long before this, it was so known a businesse that one City should have but one Bishop, that *Cornelius* exprobrates to *Novatus* his ignorance, *is ergo qui Evangelium vendicabat, nesciebat in Ecclesiâ Catholicâ unum Episcopum esse debere, ubi videbat esse Presbyteros quadraginta & sex.* *Novatus* (the Father of the old Puritans) was a goodly Gospeller that did not know that in a Catholick Church there should be but one Bishop wherein there were 46 Presbyters; intimating clearly that a Church that had two Bishops is not Catholick, but Schismatick at least, (if both be pretended to be of a fixt residence) what then is he that would make as many Bishops in a Church as Presbyters? He is *Antichrist*, he fights against God, if *S. Ambrose* say true. *Deus enim singulis Ecclesiis singulos Episcopos praeesse decrevit.* God hath decreed that one Bishop should rule in one Church; and of what extent his ONE CHURCH was, may easily be guessed by himselfe who was the Ruler, and Bishop of the great City, and province of *Millaine*. * And therefore when *Valerius*

Lib. 10. Eccles. hist.

Apud Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 33.

In 1. Cor. 12.

* *ὡς καὶ ἄλλαι*
ἐκκλησίαι.
Epiphan. hæ-
res. 66. n. 6.
Posidon. in
vitā S. Aug.
cap. 8.

Socrat. lib. 5.
cap. 21.

Lib. 4. cap. 15.

† *Lib. 4. Epist.*
2.

Lib. 2. c. 11.

a In 1. Philip.

* as it was then sometimes used in severall Churches had ordain'd *S. Austin* to be Bishop of *Hippo*, whereof *Valerius* was also Bishop at the same time, *S. Austin* was troubled at it as an act most Uncanonical, and yet he was not ordain'd to rule in common with *Valerius*, but to rule in succession and after the consummation of *Valerius*. It was the same case in *Agellius*, a *Novatian* Bishop ordaining *Marcian* to be his successor, and *Sisinnius* to succeed him, the acts were indeed irregular, but yet there was no harme in it to this cause, they were ordain'd to succeed, not in conjunction. * *ἡγεμονίας συνβολῶν ἐστὶ καὶ Ἐκκλησιαστικῆ διακονῆς ἀνάγκη.* (saith *Sozomen*) It is a note of Schisme, and against the rule of H. Church to have two Bishops in one chaire. *Secundus Episcopus nullus est* (saith *S. Cyprian*) And as *Cornelius* reports it in his epistle to *S. Cyprian*, it was the voice of the Confessors that had been the instruments and occasions of the *Novatian Schisme* by erecting another Bishop; *Nec non ignoramus unum Deum esse, unum Christum esse Dominum quem confessi sumus, unum spiritum sanctum, unum Episcopum in Catholicā Ecclesiā esse debere.* And these very words the people also used in the contestation about *Liberius*, and *Felix*. For when the Emperour was willing that *Liberius* should returne to his See, on condition that *Felix* the Arian might be Bishop there too, they derided the suggestion, crying out, *One God, one Christ, one Bishop.* So *Theodoret* reports. But who lists to see more of this, may be satisfied (if plenty will doe it) in *S. Chrysostome*,
Theodo.

^b Theodoret, ^{S.} Hierom, ^d Oecumenius, ^c Optatus, ^b
^{S.} Ambrose, and if he please he may read a whole
 booke of it written by S. Cyprian, *de Unitate Eccle-*
sia, siue de singularitate Prelatorum.

^c is 1. Phi-
^d lip.
 e lib. 2. contr.
 Parmen.
 f in 1. Tim.
 3. & in 1.
 Phi.

6ly. Suppose the ordinary *Diocesses* had been pa-
 rishes, yet what were the *Metropolitans*, and the Pri-
 mates, were they also parish-Bishops? Surely if Bi-
 shops were parochiall, then these were at least dioce-
 san by their owne argument, for to be sure they had
 many Bishops under them. But there were none
 such in the Primitive Church? yes most certainly.
 The 35 Canon of the Apostles tells us so, most plaine-
 ly, and at the worst, they were a very primitive re-
 cord. *Episcopos gentium singularum scire convenit*
quis inter eos PRIMUS HABEATUR, quem velut caput
existiment, & nihil amplius prater ejus conscientiam
gerant, quàm ea sola quæ parochia propria, & villis
quæ sub eâ sunt, competunt. The Bishops of every Na-
 tion must know who is their PRIMATE, and esteeme
 him as their HEAD, and doe NOTHING without his
 consent, but those things that appertaine to their owne
 Diocese. And from hence the Fathers of the Coun-
 cell of Antioch deriv'd their sanction, *per singulas re-*
giones Episcopos convenit nosse METROPOLITANUM
Episcopum sollicitudinem totius provincie gerere
&c. The Bishops of every province must know that
 their METROPOLITAN-Bishop does take cure of all the
 province. For this was an Apostolicall Constitution
 (saith S. Clement) that in the conversion of Gen-
 tile Cities in place of the Archflamines, Archbishops,
 Primates, or Patriarchs should be placed, *qui reli-*

Concil. An-
 tiocb. ca. 9.

Epist. 1. ad
 Iacobum Fra-
 trem Domini.

vide Concil.
Chalced. act.
1. in epist.
Theod. &
Valentin.
Imp.

quorum Episcoporum iudicia, & majora (quoties necesse foret) negotia in fide agitarent, & secundum Dei voluntatem, sicut constituerunt Sancti Apostoli, definirerent. * Alexandria was a Metropolitickall See long before the Nicene Councell, as appears in the sixth Canon before cited; Nay, Dioscorus the Bishop of that Church was required to bring ten of the METROPOLITANS that he had UNDER HIM to the Councell of Ephesus, by Theodosius and Valentinian Emperours, so that it was a PATRIARCHAT.

These are enough to shew that in the Primitive Church there were Metropolitan Bishops. Now then either Bishops were Parochiall, or no: If no, then they were Diocesan; if yea, then at least many of them were Diocesan, for they had (according to this rate) many Parochiall Bishops under them. * But I have stood too long upon this impertinent trifle, but as now adayes it is made, the consideration of it is materiall to the maine Question. Only this I adde; That if any man should trouble the world with any other fancy of his owne, and say that our Bishops are nothing like the Primitive, because all the Bishops of the Primitive Church had onely two townes in their charge, and no more, and each of these townes had in them 170 families, and were bound to have no more, how should this man be confuted? It was just such a device as this in them that first meant to disturbe this Question, by pretending that the Bishops were onely parochiall, not diocesan, and that there was no other Bishop but the Parish-Priest. Most certainly, themselves could
not

not beleive the allegation, onely they knew it would raise a dust. But by God's providence, there is water enough in the Primitive fountaines to allay it.

ANother consideration must here be interpos'd §. 44. concerning the intervening of Presbyters in And was the regiment of the severall Churches. For though ayded by I have twice already showne that they could not Presbyters challenge it of right either by Divine institution, but not im- or *Apostolicall* ordinance, yet here also it must be payred. be considered how it was in the practice of the Primitive Church, for those men that call the Bishop a Pope, are themselves desirous to make a Conclave of Cardinalls too, & to make every Diocesse a Roman Consistory.

I. Then, the first thing we heare of Presbyters (after Scripture I meane, for of it I have already given account) is from the testimony of S. Hierome, in *Epist. ad Antequam studia in religione fierent, & diceretur in Titum. cap. 1.* *populis ego sum Pauli &c: communi Presbyterorum consilio Ecclesia gubernabantur.* Before factions arose in the Church, the Church was govern'd by the common Counsell of Presbyters. Here S. Hierome either meanes it of the time before Bishops were constituted in particular Churches, or after Bishops were appointed. If, before Bishops were appointed, no hurt done, the Presbyters might well rule in common, before themselves had a ruler appointed to governe both them and all the diocesse beside. For so S. Ignatius writing to the Church of Antioch *Epist. ad Antioch.* exhorts

Epist. 21.

exhorts the *Presbyters* to feed the flock untill God should declare τὸν μόνον ἀρχὴν ὑμῶν whom he would make their ruler. And S. Cyprian speaking of *Eteusa* and some other women that had made default in time of persecution, and so were put to penance, *praeceperunt eas Praepositi tantisper sic esse, donec Episcopus constituatur.* The *Presbyters*, whom *sede vacante* hee *prater morem suum* calls *Praepositos*, they gave order that they should so remaine till the Consecration of a Bishop. * But, if S. *Hierome* meanes this saying of his, after Bishops were fixt, then his expression answers the allegation, for it was but *communi CONSILIO Presbyterorum*, the *JUDICIUM* might be solely in the Bishop, he was the *JUDGE*, though the *Presbyters* were the *COUNSELLORS*. For so himselfe addes, that upon occasion of those first Schismes in *Corinth*, it was DECREED in ALL THE WORLD, *ut omnis Ecclesia cura ad unum pertineret*, all the care of the *diocese* was in the Bishop, and therefore all the power, for it was unimaginable that the burden should be laid on the Bishop, and the strength put into the hands of the *Presbyters*. * And so S. *Ignatius* styles them, [συνβουλοι, ὑπομαχοι,] *Assessors*, and *Counsellors* to the Bishop. But yet if we take our estimate from *Ignatius*, The Bishop is THE RULER, without him though all concurr'd, yet nothing could be done, nothing attempted; The Bishop was Superiour in ALL POWER and AUTHORITY, He was to be obey'd in ALL THINGS, and contradicted in NOTHING; The Bishops judgement was to sway, and nothing must seeme pleasing

Ad Tra'llian.
Ad Magar.

pleasing to the Presbyters that was croſſe to the Bishops sentence: this, and a great deale more which I have formerly made use of, is in *Ignatius*; And now let their assistance and Counsell extend as farre as it will, the Bishops authority is invulnerable. But I have already enough discussed this instance of *S. Hierome's*. §. thither I referre the Reader.

2. But *S. Cyprian* must doe this businesse for us, if any man, for of all the Bishops, he did acts of the greatest condescension, and seeming declination of Episcopall authority. But let us see the worst. *Ad id verò quod scripserunt mihi compresbyteri nostri solus rescribere nihil potui, quando à primordio Episcopatus mei statuerim nihil sine consilio vestro, & sine consensu plebis meae privatam sententiam gerere.* And againe, *quamvis mihi videantur debere pacem accipere, tamen ad consultum vestrum eos dimisi, ne videar aliquid temerè præsumere.* And a third time, *Qua res cum omnium nostrum consilium & sententiam spectet, præjudicare ego & soli mihi rem communem vindicare non audeo.* These are the greatest steps of Episcopall humility that I find in *materiall juridicall*, The summe whereof is this, that *S. Cyprian* did consult his Presbyters and Clergy in matters of consequence, and resolved to doe nothing without their advice. But then, consider also, it was, *statui apud me, I have resolved with my selfe to doe nothing without your Counsell.* It was no necessity ab extra, no duty, no Sanction of holy Church that bound him to such a modesty, it was his owne voluntary act. 2. It was as well *Diaconorum,*

rum, as *Presbyterorum consilium* that he would have in conjunction, as appears by the titles of the *sixth and eighteenth Epistles*, *Cyprianus Presbyterus*, ac *DIACONIS fratribus salutem*: So that here the *Presbyters* can no more challenge a power of regiment in common, then the *Deacons*, by any *Divine law*, or *Catholike practice*. 3. *S. Cyprian* also would actually have the consent of the people too, and that will as well disturbe the *Ius Divinum* of an *independant Presbytery*, as of an *independant Episcopacy*.

in 1. ad
Titum.

But indeed neither of them both need to be much troubled, for all this was voluntary in *S. Cyprian*, like *Moses*, *qui cum in potestate sua habuit ut solus posset praeesse populo, seniores elegit* (to use *S. Hierome's* expression) *who when it was in his power alone to rule the people, yet chose seaventy Elders for assistants*. For as for *S. Cyprian*, this very *Epistle* clears it that no part of his *Episcopall authority* was impayred, For he shewes what himselfe alone could doc. *Fretus igitur dilectione vestra, & religione, quam satis novi, his literis & hortor & mando &c. I intreat and COMMAND you vice mea fungamini circa gerenda ea qua administratio religiosa deposcit, Be my substitutes in the administration of Church affaires*. He intreates them *pro dilectione*, because they lov'd him, he *COMMANDS THEM PRO RELIGIONE, by their religion*, for it was a peice of their religion to obey him, and in him was the government of his Church, else how could he have put the *Presbyters*, and *Deacons* in substitution?

* Adde

* Adde to this; It was the custome of the Church that although the Bishop did onely impose hands in the ordination of Clerks, yet the Clergy did approve, & examine the persons to be ordain'd, and it being a thing of publike interest, it was then not thought fit to be a personall action both in preparation, and ministration too (and for this S. Chrysostome was accus'd in *Concilio nesario* [as the title of the edition of it, expressees it] that he made ordinations *ἀνὰ συνθεσιν ἡμῶν τοῦ κλήρου*) yet when S. Cyprian saw occasion for it, he did ordaine without the consent of the Clergy of his Church, for so he ordained Celerinus, so he ordain'd Optatus, and Saturnus, when himselfe was from his Church, and in great want of Clergy-men to assist in the ministration of the daily offices. *** He did as much in jurisdiction too, and censures; for HIMSELF did excommunicate Felicissimus and Augendus, and Repostus, and Irene, and Paula, as appeares in his 38, and 39 epistles; and tells * *Rogatianus* that he might have done as much to the petulant Deacon that abus'd him by vertue of his Episcopall authority. And the same power singly, and solely, he exercis'd in his acts of favour and absolution; *Vnus atq; alius* Epist. 55.
OBNIENTE PLEBE ET CONTRADICENTE, MEA tamen FACILITATE suscepti sunt. Indeed here is no contradiction of the Clergy expresseed, but yet the absolution said to be his owne act, against the people and without the Clergy. For he alone was the JUDGE, insomuch that he declared that it was the cause of Schisme and heresie that the Bishop was not obey'd

*Ius Græc.
Rom. pag.
556.*

* *Epist. 65.*

ibidem.

obey'd, *nec UNUS in Ecclesiâ ad tempus Sacerdos, & ad tempus IUDEX VICE CHRISTI COGITATUR, and that ONE high Priest in a Church, and IUDOX INSTEAD OF CHRIST is not admitted.* So that the Bishop must be ONE, and that ONE must be IUDOX, and to acknowledge more, in S. Cyprians Lexicon is called schisme and heresie. Farther yet, this *Iudicatory* of the Bishop is independant, and responsive to none but Christ. *Actum suum disponit, & dirigit unusquisq; Episcopus rationem propositi sui Domino redditurus,* and againe, *habet in Ecclesiâ administrati-one voluntatis suæ arbitrium liberum unusquisq; Praepositus: rationem actûs sui Domino redditurus.* The Bishop is Lord of his owne actions, and may doe what seemes good in his owne eyes, and for his actions he is so account to Christ.

Epist. 92.

Epist. 72.

This generall account is sufficient to satisfie the allegations out of the 6th, and 18th epistles, and indeed, the whole Question. But for the 18th epistle, there is something of peculiar answer. For first, It was a case of publike concernement, and therefore he would so comply with the publike interest as to doe it by publike counsell. 2^{ly}, It was a necessity of times that made this case peculiar. *NECESSITAS TEMPORUM facit ut non temerè pacem demus*, they are the first words of the next epistle, which is of the same matter; for if the *lapsi* had been easily, and without a publike and solemne triall reconcil'd, it would have made Gentile Sacrifices frequent, and Martyrdome but seldome. 3^{ly}, The common counsell which S. Cyprian here said he would expect, was.

was the Councell of the Confessors, to whom for a peculiar honour it was indulged that they should be interested in the publike assoyling of such penitents who were overcome with those teares which the Confessors had overcome. So that this is evidently an act of positive, and temporary discipline; and as it is no disadvantage to the power of the *Bishop*, so to be lure, no advantage to the *Presbyter*.

* But the clause of objection from the 19th epistle is yet unanswered, and that runs something higher, *tamen ad consultum vestrum eos dimisim videar aliquid temerè præsumere*. It is called presumption to reconcile the penitents without the advice of those to whom he writ. But from this we are fairly deliver'd by the title. *Cypriano, & Compresbyteris Carthagini consistentibus, Caldonius, salutem*. It was not the epistle of *Cyprian* to his *Presbyters*, but of *Caldonius* one of the *suffragan Bishops of Numidia* to his *Metropolitan*; and now, what wonder if he call it presumption to doe an act of so publike consequence without the advise of his *Metropolitan*. He was bound to consult him by the *Canons Apostolicall*, and so he did, and no harme done to the present Question, of the *Bishops sole and independant power*, and unmixt with the conjunct interest of the *Presbytery*, who had nothing to doe beyond *ministry, counsell, and assistance*.

3. In all Churches where a *Bishops seat* was, there were not alwayes a Colledge of *Presbyters*, but only in the greatest Churches; for sometimes in the lesser Cities there were but two. *Esse oportet,*

ibidem.

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In 1. Timoth.
3.

& aliquantos Presbyteros, ut bini sint per Ecclesias, & unus in civitate Episcopus. So S. Ambrose, sometimes there was but one in a Church. Posthumianus in the third Councell of Carthage put the case. *Deinde qui unum [Presbyterum] habuerit, numquid debet illi ipse unus Presbyter auferri?* The Church of Hippo had but one. Valerius was the Bishop, and Austin was the Priest; and after him Austin was the Bishop, & Eradius the Priest. Sometimes not one, as in the case Aurelius put in the same Councell now cited, of a Church that had never a Presbyter to be consecrated Bishop in the place of him that dyed; & once at Hippo they had none, even then when the people snatch'd S. Austin and carried him to Valerius to be ordain'd. In these cases I hope it will not be denied but the Bishop was Indge alone, I am sure he had but little company, sometimes none at all.

1. Tim. 1.

4. But suppose it had been alwaies done that Presbyters were consulted in matters of great difficulty, and possibility of Scandall, for so S. Ambrose intimates, *Ecclesia seniores habuit sine quorum Consilio nihil gerebatur in Ecclesia* (understand, in these Churches where Presbyteries were fixt) yet this might be necessary, and was so indeed in some degree at first, which in succession as it prov'd troublesome to the Presbyters; so unnecessary and impertinent to the Bishops. At first I say it might be necessary. For they were times of persecution, and temptation, and if both the Clergy and people too were not comply'd withall in such exigence of time, and agonies of spirit, it was the way to make them

them relapse to Gentilisme, for a discontented spirit will hide it selfe, and take sanctuary in the reedes and mud of *Nilus*, rather then not take complacence in an imaginary security and revenge. 2. As yet there had been scarce any *Synods* to determine cases of publike difficulty, and what they could not receive from publike decision, it was fitting they should supply by the maturity of a Consiliary assistance, and deliberation. For although, by the *Canons* of the *Apostles*, *Bishops* were bound twice a yeare to celebrate *Synods*, yet persecution intervening, they were rather twice a yeare a *harmes* then *owids*, a *dispersion* then a *Synod*. 3. Although *Synods* had been as frequently conven'd as was intended by the *Apostles*, yet it must be length of time, and a successive experience that must give opportunity and ability to give generall rules for the emergency of all particulars, and therefore till the Church grew of some considerable age, a fixt standing Colledge of Presbyters was more requisite then since it hath been, when the frequency of Generall Councells, and Provinciaall Synods, and the peace of the Church, and the innumerable volumes of the Fathers, and Decretalls of Bishops, and a digest of Ecclesiasticall Constitutions, hath made the personall assistance of Presbyters unnecessary. 4. When necessity requir'd not their presence and Counsell, their own necessity requir'd that they should attend their severall cures. For let it be considered; they that would now have a Colledge of Presbyters assist the Bishop whether they think of what follows.

lowes. For either they must have Presbyters ordain'd without a title, which I am sure they have complain'd of these threescore years, or else they must be forc'd to *Non-residence*. For how else can they assist the Bishop in the ordinary, and daily occurrences of the Church, unlesse either they have no cure of their own, or else neglect it? And as for the extraordinary, either the Bishop is to consult his *Metropolitan*, or he may be assisted by a *Synod*, if the *Canons* already constitute doe not aide him, but in all these cases the *Presbytery* is impertinent.

5. As this assistance of Presbyters was at first for necessity, and after by Custome it grew a Law; so now *retrò*, first the necessity fail'd, and then the desuetude abrogated the Law, which before, custome had established. [*quod quâ negligentia obsoleverit nescio*] saith S. Ambrose, he knew not how it came to be obsolete, but so it was, it had expired before his time. Not but that Presbyters were still in Mother-Churches (I meane in Great ones) *In Ecclesiâ enim habemus Senatum nostrum, ætium Presbyterorum*, we have still (saith S. Hierome) in the Church our Senate, a Colledge, or Chapter of Presbyters, (he was then at Rome, or Ierusalem) but they were not consulted in Church affaires, & matter of jurisdiction, that was it, that S. Ambrose wondred how it came to passe. And thus it is to this day. In our Mother Churches we have a Chapter too, but the Bishop consults them not in matters of ordinary jurisdiction, just so it was in S. Ambrose his time, and therefore our Bishops have altered no custome in this

this particular, the alteration was pregnant even before the end of the towre generall Councells, and therefore is no violation of a *divine right*, for then most certainly a contrary provision would have been made in those conventions, wherein so much sanctity, and authority, and Catholicisme and severe discipline were conjunct; and then besides, it is no innovation in practice which pretends so faire antiquity, but however it was never otherwise then voluntary in the Bishops, and positive discipline in the Church, and conveniency in the thing for that present, and Councell in the Presbyters, and a trouble to the Presbyters persons, and a disturbance of their duties when they came to be fixt upon a particular charge.

* One thing more before I leave. I find a Canon of the Councell of *Hispalis* objected. *Episcopus Presbyteris solus honorem dare potest, solus autem auferre non potest. A Bishop may alone ordaine a Priest, a Bishop may not alone depose a Priest.* Therefore in censures there was in the Primitive Church a necessity of conjunction of Presbyters with the Bishop in imposition of censures. Can. 6.

* To this I answer, first it is evident, that hee that can give an honour, can also take it away, if any body can, for there is in the nature of the thing no greater difficulty in pulling downe, then in raising up. It was wont alwaies to be accounted easier, therefore this Canon requiring a conjunct power in deposing Presbyters is a positive constitution of the Church, founded indeed upon good institution.

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but

but built upon no deeper foundation, neither of nature or higher institution, then its own present authority.

But that's enough, for we are not now in question of *divine right*, but of *Catholick and Primitive practice*. To it therefore I answer, that the conjunct hand required to pull downe a Presbyter, was not the Chapter, or Colledge of Presbyters, but a company of Bishops, a *Synodall sentence*, and *determination*, for so the Canon runnes, *qui profecto nec ab uno damnari, nec uno judicante poterunt honoris sui privilegii exui: sed presentati SYNODALI IUDICIO, quod canon de illis praeceperit definiri*. And the same thing was determin'd in the Greekes Councell of Carthage. If a Presbyter or a Deacon be accused, their owne Bishop shall judge them, not alone,

Can. 20.

but with the assistance of *sixe Bishops* more, in the case of a Presbyter; three, of a Deacon; ἄλλοι δὲ λοιποὶ ἀνεκκαὶ τῆς αἰτίας καὶ μέγας ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ἐπίσκοπος διαγνώσκει καὶ κρίνει. But the causes of the other Clergy the Bishop of the place must *ALONE* heare and determine them. So that by this Canon, in some things the Bishop might not be alone, but then his assistants were Bishops, not Presbyters, in other things he alone was judge without either, and yet his sentences must not be *clancular*, but in *open Court*, in the full Chapter; for his Presbyters must be present; and so it is determin'd for Africa in the fourth Councell of Carthage, *Vt Episcopus nullius causam audiat absq̃ presentia Clericorum suorum: alioquin irrita erit sententia Episcopi nisi presentia Clericorum confirmetur*. Here

Can. 23.

is indeed a necessity of the presence of the Clergy of his Church where his Consistory was kept, least the sentence should be clandestine, and so illegal, but it is nothing but *praesentia Clericorum*, for it is *sententia Episcopi*, the Bishops sentence, and the Clerks presence only; for *unus est dominus dicentis*, the Bishop ALONE might give sentence in the causes of the inferior Clergy, even by this Canon it selfe, which is used for objection against the Bishops sole jurisdiction.

*** I know nothing now to hinder our proceffe, for the Bishops jurisdiction is clearly left in his own hand, and the Presbyters had no share in it, but by delegation and voluntary assumption. Now I proceed in the maine question.

§ 45.
WE have seen what *Episcopacy* is in it selfe, So that the now from the same principles let us see govern- what it is to us. And first; Antiquity taught us it ment of the was simply necessary, even to the being and constitution of a Church. That runs high, but we must follow our leaders. * S. Ignatius is expresse in this Bishops was believed necessary. question. *Qui intra altare est, mundus est, quare & obtemperat Episcopo, & Sacerdotibus. Qui vero foris est hic is est, qui sine Episcopo, Sacerdote, & Diacono quicquam agit, & ejusmodi inquinatam habet conscientiam, & infideli deterior est.* He that is within the Altar, that is, within the Communion of the Church, he is pure, for he obeyes the Bishop, and the Priests. But he that is without, that is, does any thing without his Bishop and the Clergy, he hath a filthy conscience
S f 2

science and is worse then an infidell. *NECESSÉ itaq̃, est, quicquid facitis, ut SINE EPISCOPO NIHIL faciatis.* It is NECESSARY that what ever ye doe, ye be sure to doe nothing without the Bishop. *Quid enim aliud est Episcopus, &c.* For what else is a Bishop but he that is greater then all power? So that the obeying the Bishop is the necessary condition of a Christian, and Catholick communion; he that does not, is worse then an infidell. The same also he affirmes a.

Epist. ad Philadelph.

gaine. *Quotquot enim Christi sunt partium Episcopi, qui verò ab illo declinant, & cum maledictis communionem amplectuntur, hi cum illis excidentur.* All them that are on Christs side, are on the Bishops side, but they that communicate with accursed Schismatics, shall be cutt off with them. * If then we will be Christ's servants, we must be obedient and subordinate to the Bishop. It is the condition of Christianity: We are not Christians else. So is the intimation of *S. Ignatius*. * As full and pertinent is the peremptory resolution of *S. Cyprian* in that admirable epistle of his *ad Lapsos*, where after he had spoken how Christ instituted the honour of Episcopacy in concrediting the Keyes to Peter and the other Apostles, *Inde (saith he) per temporum & successionum vices, Episcoporum ordinatio, & ECCLESIAE RATIO decurrit, Vt ECCLESIA SUPER EPISCOPOS CONSTITUATUR, & omnis actus Ecclesia per EOSDEM PRÆPOSITOS gubernetur.* Hence is it, that by severall succeſſion of Bishops the Church is continued, so that the CHURCH HATH IT'S BEING, OR CONSTITUTION BY BISHOPS, and every act

Epist. 27. & alibi.

of

of Ecclesiasticall regiment is so be disposed by them. *Cum hoc itaq; divinâ lege fundatum sit, miror &c.* Since therefore this is so ESTABLISHED BY THE LAW OF GOD, I wonder any man should question it, &c. And therefore as in all buildings, the foundation being gone, the fabrick falls, so IF YE TAKE AWAY BISHOPS, the Church must aske a writing of divorce from God, for it can no longer bee called a Church. This account we have from S. Cyprian, and he reenforces againe upon the same charge in his * Epistle ad Florentium Papianum, where he makes * Epist. 69. a Bishop to be ingredient into the DEFINITION of a Church. [*Ecclesia est plebs sacerdoti adunata, & Pastori suo Grex adharens*, The Church is a flock adhering to it's Pastor, and a people united to their Bishop] for that so he means by *Sacerdos*, appears in the words subjoyn'd, *Vnde & scire debes Episcopum in Ecclesiâ esse, & Ecclesiam in Episcopo, & si qui Cum EPISCOPO NON SIT IN ECCLESIA NON ESSE, & frustra sibi blandiri eos qui pacem cum Sacerdotibus Dei non habentes obrepunt, & latenter apud quosdam communicare se credunt &c.* As a Bishop is in the Church, so the Church is in the Bishop, and he that does not communicate with the Bishop is not in the Church; and therefore they vainely flatter themselves that think their case faire and good, if they communicate in conventicles, and forsake their Bishop.

And for this cause the holy Primitives were so confident, and zealous for a Bishop, that they would rather expose themselves and all their tribes to a

vide Concil.
Byzacenum,
An.Dom. 504.
& Surium die
1. Januar. &
Baron, in
A.D. 504.

persecution, then to the greater misery, the want of Bishops. *Fulgentius* tells an excellent story to this purpose. When *Frasamund* King of *Byzac* in *Afri-*
ca had made an edict that no more Bishops should be consecrate; to this purpose that the Catholike faith might expire (so he was sure it would, if this device were perfected) *ut arcescentibus truncis absq[ue] palmitibus omnes Ecclesia desolarentur*, the good Bishops of the Province met together in a Councell, and having considered of the command of the tyrant, *Sacra turba Pontificum qui remanserant communicato inter se consilio desinierunt adversus preceptum Regis in omnibus locis celebrare ordinationes Pontificum, cogitantes aut Regis iracundiam, si qua forsan existeret, mitigandam, quò facilius ordinati in suis plebibus viverent, aut si persecutionis violentia nasceretur, coronandos etiam fidei confessione, quos dignos inveniebant promotione.* It was full of bravery, and Christian sprite. The Bishops resolved for all the edict against new ordination of Bishops to obey God, rather then man, and so consecrate Bishops in all places, hoping the King would be appeased, or if not, yet those whom they thought worthy of a Mitre were in a faire disposition to receive a Crowne of Martyrdom. They did so. *Fit repente communis assumptio*, and they all striv'd who should be first, and thought a blessing would outstrip the hindmost. They were sure they might goe to heaven (though persecuted) under the conduct of a Bishop, they knew, without him the ordinary passage was obstructed.

Thus the first, Bishop of Rome, and Martyr, speaking of them that calumniate, and disgrace their Bishops endeavouring to make them infamous, they adde (saith he) evill to evill, and grow worse, *non intelligentes quòd Ecclesia Dei in Sacerdotibus consistit, & crescit in templum Dei; Not considering that THE CHURCH OF GOD DOETH CONSIST, or is established in BISHOPS, and growes up to a holy Temple.* To him I am most willing to adde S. Hier. *adver. Lasio-rome*, because he is often obtruded in defiance of *ser. cap. 4.* the cause. *Ecclesia salus in summi Sacerdotis dignitate pendet, The safety of the Church depends upon the Bishops dignity.*

THE Reason which S. Hierome gives, presses this § 46. businesse to a further particular. For if an enemy dignit, and an Vnmatchable power be not given to him, *tot efficientur schismata, quot Sacerdotes.* For they are schismatics that separate from their Bishop. So that he makes Bishops therefore necessary because without them the Unity of a Church cannot be preserved; and we know that unity, and being, are of equall extent, and if the Unity of the Church depends upon the Bishop, then where there is no Bishop, no pretence to a Church; and therefore to separate from the Bishop makes a man at least a Schismatick; For Unity which the Fathers presse so often, they make to be dependant on the Bishop. *Nihil sit in vobis quod possit vos dirimere, sed Vnimini Episcopo, subjecti Deo per illum in Christo* (saith S. Ignatius.) *Epist. ad Magac.* Let nothing divide you, but be united to your Bishop, being subject to God in Christ through your Bishop. And

And it is his *conge* to the people of *Smyrna* to whom he writ in his epistle to *Polycarpus*, *opto vos semper valere in Deo nostro Iesu Christo, in quo manete per Vnitatem Dei* & *EPISCOPI*, Farewell in *Christ Iesus*, in whom remaine by the *Vnity* of God and of the *BISHOP*. * *Quanto vos beatiore judico qui dependis ab illo [Episcopo] ut Ecclesia à Domino Iesu, & Dominus à Patre suo, ut omnia per Vnitatem consentiant.* Blessed people are ye that depend upon your *Bishop*, as the *Church* on *Christ*, and *Christ* on God, that all things may consent in *Vnity*.

Ad Ephes.

S. Cyprian.
ep. 55.

Epist. 69.

* *Nec enim aliunde haereses oborta sunt, aut nata sunt schismata, quam inde quod Sacerdoti Dei non obtemperatur, nec unus in Ecclesia ad tempus Sacerdos, & ad tempus Iudex vice Christi cogitatur.* Hence come *SCHISMES*, hence spring *HERESYES* that the *Bishop* is not obeyed, and admitted alone to be the high *Priest*, alone to be the *Judge*. The same, *S. Cyprian* repeats againe, and by it, we may see his meaning clearer. *Qui vos audit, me audit &c: Inde enim haereses & schismata obortae sunt & oriuntur, dum Episcopus qui unus est, & Ecclesia praest superba quorundam praesumptione contemnitur, & homo dignatione Dei honoratus, indignus hominibus iudicatur.* The pride and peevish haughtinesse of some factious people that contemne their *Bishops* is the cause of all heresy and *Schisme*. And therefore it was so strictly forbidden by the *Ancient Canons*, that any Man should have any meetings, or erect an *Altar* out of the communion of his *Bishop*, that if any man prov'd delinquent in this particular, he was punish'd

nish'd with the highest censures, as appears in the 32^d Canon of the Apostles, in the 6th Canon of the Councell of Gangra, the 5th Canon of the Councell of Antioch, and the great Councell of Chalcedon, all ^{Act. 4.} which I have before cited. The summe is this, The Bishop is the band, and ligature of the Churches Unity; and separation from the Bishop is *σχιζματισμός*, as Theodoret's expression is; a Symbol of faction, and he that separates is a Schismatick.

But how if the Bishop himselve be a heretick, or schismatick? May we not then separate? Yes, if he be judg'd so by a Synod of Bishops, but then he is sure to be depos'd too, and then in these cases no separation from a Bishop. For till he be declar'd so, his communion is not to be forsaken by the subjects of his diocesse, least they by so doing become *their Judges judge*, and when he is declar'd so, no need of withdrawing from obedience to the Bishop, for the heretick, or schismatick must be no longer Bishop.

* But let the case be what it will be, no separation from a Bishop, *ut sic*, can be lawfull, and yet if there were a thousand cases in which it were lawfull to separate from a Bishop, yet in no case is it lawfull to separate from Episcopacy; That is the quintessence, and spirit of schisme, and a direct overthrow to Christianity, and a confronting of a Divine institution.

* But is it not also heresie? *Aërius* was condemn'd for heresie by the Catholike Church. The And Here-
heresie from whence the *Aërians* were denomina- ticks,

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heres. 79.

ted was, *sermo furiosus magis quàm humana conditionis, & dicebat, Quid est Episcopus ad Presbyterum, nihil differt hic ab illo. A mad, and an unmanly heresie, so say that a Bishop, and a Priest are all one. So Epiphanius. Assumpsit autem Ecclesia, & IN TOTO MUNDO ASSENSUS FACTUS EST, antequam esset Aërius, & qui ab ipso appellantur Aëriani. And the good Catholike Father is so angry at the heretick Aërius, that he thinks his name was given him by Providence, and he is call'd Aërius, ab aërys spiritibus pravitatis, for he was possessed with an uncleane spirit, he could never else been the inventor of such hereticall pravity. S. Austin also reckons him in the accursed roll of hereticks, and adds at the conclusion of his Catalogue, that he is NO CATHOLIKE CHRISTIAN that assents to any of the foregoing Doctrines, amongst which, this is one of the principall. Philastrius does as much for him.*

But against this it will be objected. first, That heresies in the Primitive Catalogues are of a large extent, and every dissent from a publike opinion, was esteemed heresie. 2^{ly}, Aërius was called heretick, for denying prayer for the dead. And why may he not be as blamelesse in equalling a Bishop, and a Presbyter, as in that other, for which he also is condemn'd by Epiphanius, and S. Austin. 3^{ly}, He was never condemn'd by any Councell, and how then can he be called heretick?

I answer, that dissent from a publike, or a received opinion was never called heresie, unlesse the contrary truth was indeed a part of Catholike doctrine.

For

For the Fathers many of them did so, as *S. Austin* from the *Milenary* opinion; yet none ever reckon'd them in the Catalogues of hereticks; but such things only set them downe there, which were either directly opposite to Catholike believe, though in *minoribus articulis*, or to a holy life. 2^{ly}, It is true that *Epiphanius* and *S. Austin* reckon his denying prayer for the dead to be one of his owne opinions, and hereticall. But I cannot help it if they did, let him and them agree it, they are able to answer for themselves. But yet they accused him also of Arianisme; and shall we therefore say that Arianisme was no heresie, because the Fathers call'd him heretick in one particular upon a wrong principall? We may as well say this, as deny the other. 3^{ly}, He was not condemned by any Councell. No. For his heresie was ridiculous, and a scorne to all wise men; as *Epiphanius* observes, and it made no long continuance, neither had it any considerable party. * But yet this is certaine, that *Epiphanius*, & *Philastrius*, & *S. Austin* call'd this opinion of *Aërius* a heresie and against the Catholike believe. And themselves affirme that the Church did so; and then it would be considered, that it is but a sad imployment to revive old heresies, and make them a price of the New religion.

And yet after all this, if I mistake not, although *Aërius* himselfe was so inconsiderable as not to be worthy noting in a Councell, yet certainly the one halfe of his error is condemn'd for heresie in one of the foure *Generall Councells*, viz. the first Councell of *Constantinople*. ἀρετικὴ καὶ ἀνόμιμη καὶ πάλαι ἔξ-
Can. 6.
κακησίας

κλησίας ἀποχρησθήσεται, καὶ τὰς μὲν ταῦτα ὑφ' ὧν ἀναθεμα-
τιθήσεται. We call all them hereticks whom the Anci-
ent Church hath condemn'd, and whom we shall
anathematize. Will not *Aërius* come under one of
these titles for a condemn'd heretick? Then see for-
ward. περὶ τῶν τέκνων καὶ τῶν πτωχῶν καὶ τῶν ὑγιᾶν περὶ
καὶ τῶν ἐμολογούντων, ἀποσχίσαντας καὶ ἀποσωάσαντας τῆς κοινῆς
καὶ ἡμῶν ἐπιστάτους. Here is enough for *Aërius* and all
his hyperaspists, new and old, for the *hol*, *Comm.*
cell condemnes them for hereticks who doe indeed
confesse the true faith, but separate from their *Bi.*
shops, and make conventicles apart from his *Com-*
munion. Now this I the rather urge because an Act
of Parliament made 1^o of *Elizabeth* does make this
Councell, and the other three of *Nice*, *Ephesus*, and
Chalcedon, the rule of judging heresy.

I end this particular with the saying of the Coun-
cell of *Paris* against the *Acephali* (who were the
branch of a Crabstock and something like *Aërius*,)
lib. 2. decret. cited by *Burchard*; *Nulla ratione Clerici aut Sacer-*
cap. 216. *dotes habendi sunt, qui sub nullius Episcopi disciplinâ*
& providentiâ gubernantur. Tales enim Acepha-
los, id est, sine capite Prisca Ecclesia consuetudo nun-
cupavit. They are by no meanes to be accounted *Cler-*
gy-men, or *Priests*, that will not be governed by a *Bi-*
shop. For such men the Primitive Church call'd
κεφαλῆς, that is, *headlesse*, wittleffe people.

This onely. *Acephali* was the title of a Sect, a
formall heresy, and condemn'd by the Ancient
Church, say the Fathers of the Councell of *Paris*.
Now if we can learn exactly what they were, it may
perhaps.

perhaps be another conviction for the necessity of
Episcopall regiment. *Nicephorus* can best informe us. lib. 18. ca. 45
Eodem tempore, & Acephali, quorum dux Severus Eccles. hist.
Antiochenus fuit &c: Severus of Antioch was the
first broacher of this heresy. But why were they cal-
 led *Acephali*? *id est, sine capite, quem sequuntur ha-*
retici; Nullus enim eorum reperitur auctor à quo ex-
ortisunt (saith *Isidore*). But this cannot be, for their lib. 8. cap. 5.
 head is knowne, *Severus* was the heresiarch. But Ætymol.
 then why are they called *Acephali*? *Nicephorus*
 gives this reason, and withall a very particular ac-
 count of their heresy, *Acephali autem ob eam causam*
dicti sunt, quod sub Episcopis non fuerint. They refu-
 sed to live under *Bishops*. Thence they had their
Name. what was their heresie? They denied the
 distinction of Natures in *Christ*. That was one of
 their heresies, but they had more; for they were *tri-*
um capitulorum in Chalcedone impugnatores, saith
Isidore, they opposed three *Canons* of the Councell
 of *Chalcedon*. One we have heard, what their other ubi suprà.
 heresies were, we doe not so well know, but by the
 Canon of the Councell of *Paris*, and the intimation of
 their name we are guided to the knowledge of a se-
 cond; They refused to live under the government
 of a *Bishop*. And this also was *impugnatio unius ar-*
ticuli in Chalcedone, for the eighth Canon of the
 Councell of *Chalcedon* commands that the Clergy
 should be under *Episcopall* government. But these
Acephali would not, they were *antiepiscopall* men,
 and therefore they were condemn'd hereticks, con-
 demn'd, In the Councell of *Paris*, of *Sevill*, and of
Chalcedon.

But the more particular account that *Nicephorus* gives of them I will now insert, because it is of great use. *Proinde Episcopis, & Sacerdotibus apud eos defunctis, neq; baptismus juxta solennem, atq; receptum Ecclesia morem apud eos administratur, neq; oblatio, aut res aliqua divina facta, ministeriumvè Ecclesiasticum, sicuti mos est, celebratum est. Communio nem verò illi à plurimo tempore asservatam habentes serijs pascalibus in minutissimas incisam partes convenientibus ad se hominibus dederunt. Quo tempore quam quisq; voluisset placitam sibi sumebat potestatem. Et propterea quod quilibet, quod si visum esset, fidei insertum volebat, quamplurima defectorum, atq; hæreticorum turba exorta est.* It is a story worthy observation. *When any Bishop dyed they would have no other consecrated in succession, and therefore could have no more Priests when any of them dyed. But how then did they to baptize their Children? Why, they were faine to make shift, and doe it without any Church-solemnity. But, how did they for the Holy Sacrament, for that could not be consecrated without a Priest, and he not ordain'd without a Bishop? True, but therefore they, while they had a Bishop, got a great deale of bread consecrated, and kept a long time, and when Easter came, cutt it into small bitts, or crummes rather, to make it goe the farther, and gave it to their people. And must we doe so too? God forbid. But how did they when all that was gone? For crummes would not last alwaies. The story specifies it not, but yet I suppose they then got a Bishop for their necessity to help*

help them to some more Priests, and some more crummes; for I find the Councell of *Sevill* the Fathers saying, *Ingressus est ad nos quidam ex harefi Acephalorum Episcopus*; They had the nit seemes got a Bishop, but this they would seldome have, and never but when their necessity drave them to it. But was this all the inconvenience of the want of Bishops? No. For every man (saith *Nicephorus*) might doe what he list, & if he had a mind to it, might put his fancy into the Creed, and thence came innumerable troopes of Schismaricks and Hereticks. So that this device was one simple heresie in the roote, but it was forty heresies in the fruit, and branches; clearely proving that want of Bishops is the cause of all Schisme, & recreant opiniōs that are imaginable.

I summe this up with the saying of *S. Clement* Epist. 3. the Disciple of *S. Peter*, *Si autem vobis Episcopis non obedierint omnes Presbyteri, &c. tribus, & lingua non obtemperaverint, non solum infames, sed & extorres à regno Dei, & consortio fidelium, ac à limitibus Sancti Dei Ecclesia alieni erunt.* All Priests, and Clergy-men, and People, and Nations, and Languages that doe not obey their Bishop shall be shut forth of the communion of Holy Church here, and of Heaven hereafter. It runnes high, but I cannot help it, I doe but translate *Ruffinus*, as he before translated *S. Clement*. §. 48.

IT seemes then we must have Bishops. But must we have Lord Bishops too? That is the question now, the Church, but such an one as the Primitive piety could never men of great Honour. have imagined. For, could they, to whom Bishops were

were placed in a right and a true light, they who believed, and saw them to be the Fathers of their soules, the *Guardian of their life and manners* (as King Edgar call'd *S. Dunstan*) the guide of their consciences, the instruments and conveyances of all the Blessings heaven uses to powre upon us, by the ministration of the holy Gospell; would they, that thought their lives a cheap exchange for a free, and open communion with a Catholick *Bishop*; would they have contested upon an aëry 'title, and the imaginariy priviledge of an honour, which is farre lesse then their spirituall dignity, but infinitely lesse then the burden, and charge of the soules of all their Dioceffe? Charity thinks nothing too much, and that love is but little, that grutches at the good words a *Bishoprick* carries with it.

However, let us see whether titles of honour be either unfit in themselves to be given to *Bishops*, or what the guise of Christendome hath been in her spirituall heraldry.

1. *S. Ignatius* in his Epistle to the Church of *Smyrna* gives them this command. *Honora Episcopum ut Principem Sacerdotum, imaginem Dei representem. Honour the Bishop as the image of God, as the* PRINCE OF PRIESTS. Now since honour, and excellency are termes of mutuall relation, and all excellency that is in men, and things, is but a ray of divine excellency; so farre as they participate of God, so farre they are honourable. Since then the Bishop carries the impresse of God upon his forehead, and bears *Gods image*, certainly this participation

tion of such perfection makes him very honourable. And since *honor est in honorante*, it is not enough that the *Bishop* is honourable in himselfe, but it tells us our duty, we must honour him, we must doe him honour: and of all the honours in the world, that of words is the cheapest, and the least.

S. Paul speaking of the honour due to the *Prelates* of the Church, *οἱ γὰρ οὐκ ὀφείλουσι διπλασίονα τιμῇ ἀξιόδοται.* Let them be accounted worthy of double honour. And one of the honours that he there means is a costly one, an honour of *Maintenance*, the other must certainly be an honour of *estimate*, and that's cheapest. * The Councell of *Sardis* Can. 10. Grec.

speaking of the severall steps and capacities of promotion to the height of *Episcopacy*, uses this expression, *ὃς αὖτις ἀξιοῖ & διὰς ἱερωσύνης πορεύσθαι, & μάλιστα ἀπαύσσει τῆς τιμῆς.* He that shall be found worthy of so Divine a Priesthood, let him be advanced to the HIGHEST HONOUR. * *Ego procidens ad pedes ejus rogabam, excusans me, & declinans HONOREM CATHEDRÆ, & potestatem,* (saith S. Clement, when S. Peter would have advanc'd him to the Honour and power of the Bishops chaire.) But in the third epistle speaking of the dignity of *Aaron* the High-Priest, and then by analogy, of the *Bishop*, who although he be a Minister in the order of *Melchisedek*, yet he hath also the honour of *Aaron*, *Omnis enim Pontifex sacro crismate perunctus, & in civitate constitutus, & in Scripturis sacris conditus, charus & preciosus hominibus oppido esse debet.* Every High Priest ordained in the City (viz. a Bishop) ought for his worth to

Epist. 1. ad Iacobum.

be Deare, and Precious in the eyes of men. *Quem quasi Christi locum tenentem honorare omnes debent, eiq; servire, & obediētes ad salutem suam fideliter existere, scientes quod siue honor, siue injuria quæ ei defertur, in Christum redundat, & a Christo in Deum.* The Bishop is Christ's vicegerent, and therefore he is to be obeyed, knowing that whether it be honour, or injury that is done to the Bishop, it is done to Christ, and so to God. * And indeed what is the saying of our blessed Saviour himselfe? *He that despiseth you, despiseth mee.* If Bishops be Gods Ministers and in higher order then the rest, then although all discountenance, and disgrace done to the Clergy reflect upon Christ, yet what it done to the Bishop is farre more, and then there is the same reason of the honour. And if so, then the Question will prove but an odde one; even this, whether Christ be to be honour'd or no, or depressed to the common estimate of Vulgar people? for if the Bishops be, then he is. This is the condition of the Question.

2. Consider wee, that all Religions, and particularly all Christianity did give titles of honour to their *High-Priests*, and *Bishops* respectively. * I shall not need to instance in the great honour of the Priestly tribe among the Jewes, and how highly Honourable *Aaron* was in proportion. Prophets were called [*Lords*] in holy Scripture. [*Art not thou MY LORD Elijah?*] said *Obed Edom* to the Prophet. [*Knowest thou not that God will take THY LORD from thy head this day?*] said the children in the Prophets Schooles. So it was then. And in the
new

New Testament we find a Prophet HONOURD every where, but in his own Country. And to the *Apostles* and Presidents of Churches greater titles of honour given, then was ever given to man by secular complacence and insinuation. ANGELS, and *Apocal. 1.* GOVERNOURS, and FATHERS OF OUR FAITH, and *1. Corinth. 4.* STARRS, LIGHT OF THE WORLD, the CROWNE OF THE CHURCH, APOSTLES OF *Iohn 10.* IESUS CHRIST, nay, GODS, *viz.* to whom the word of God came; and of the compellation of *Apostles*, particularly, *S. Hierom* saith, that when *S. Paul* called himselfe the *Apostle of Iesus Christ*, it *In Titum.* was as Magnifically spoken, as if he had said, *Præfectus pratorio Augusti Caesaris, Magister exercitus Tiberii Imperatoris*; And yet Bishops are Apostles, and so called in Scripture. I have proved that already.

Indeed our blessed *Saviour* in the case of the two sonnes of *Zebedee*, forbad them to expect by vertue of their *Apostolate* any *Princely* titles, in order to a Kingdome, and an earthly Principality. For that was it which the ambitious woman sought for her sonnes, *viz.* faire honour, and dignity in an earthly Kingdome; for such a Kingdome they expected with their *Messias*. To this their expectation, our Saviours answer is a direct *antithesis*; And that made the *Apostles* to be angry at the two Petitioners, as if they had meant to supplant the rest, and yet the best preferment from them, to wit, in a temporall Kingdome. *No;* (saith our blessed Saviour) ye are all deceived, [*The Kings of the Nations in-*

Matth. 20.

Mark 10.

Luke 22.

deed doe exercise authority, and are called *εὐεργεταί*, Benefactors] so the word signifies, [Gracious Lords] so we read it, [But it shall not be so with you.] what shall not be so with them? shall not they exercise authority? [Who then is that faithfull and wise stem. and whom his Lord made ruler over his Household?] Surely the Apostles, or no body. Had Christ authority? Most certainly. Then so had the Apostles, for Christ gave them his, with a *sicut misit me Pater, &c.* Well! the Apostles might, and we know they did exercise authority. What then shall not be so with them? shall not they be called *εὐεργεταί*? Indeed if S. Marke had taken that title upon him in Alexandria, the Ptolomies, whose Honourary appellation that was, would have question'd him Highly for it. But if we goe to the sense of the word, the Apostles might be Benefactors, and therefore might be called so. But what then? Might they not be called Gracious Lords? The word would have done no hurt if it had not been an ensigne of a secular Principality.

Matth. 23. 8,

9, 10.

Ephes. 4.

For as for the word [Lord] I know no more prohibition for that, then for being called RABBI, OF MASTER, OF DOCTOR, OF FATHER. What shall we think now? May we not be called DOCTORS? [God hath constituted in his Church Pastors, and Doctors, saith S. Paul.] Therefore we may be called so. But what of the other, the prohibition runs alike for all, as is evident in the severall places of the Gospels, and may no man be called MASTER, or FATHER? let an answer be thought upon for these,

and

and the same will serve for the other also without any sensible error. It is not the word, it is the ambitious seeking of a temporall principality as the issue of Christianity, and an affixe of the Apostolate that Christ interdicted his Apostles. * And if we marke it, our B. Saviour points it out himselfe. [*The Princes of the Nations κατακυριεύουσιν, exercise authority over them, and are called Benefactors, ὡς ἄνθρωποι ἐκ υἱοῦ.* It shall not be so with you. Not so: how? Not as the Princes of the Gentiles, for theirs is a temporall regiment, your Apostolate must be Spirituall. They rule as Kings, you as fellow servants, ὡς ἰσὺς υἱοῦ ἐκ υἱοῦ ἡ ἀποστολή, ὡς υἱοῦ δούλου. He that will be first amongst you, let him be your Minister, or servant; It seems then among Christs Disciples there may be a Superiority, when there is a Minister or servant; But it must be ἐκ τοῦ διακονεῖν that this greatness doth consist, it must be in doing the greatest service and ministration that the superiority consists in. But more particularly, it must be ὡς πᾶς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. It must not be [as the Princes of the Gentiles] but it must be [as the sonne of man] so Luke 22. Christ saies expressly. And how was that? why, he came to Minister and to serve, and yet in the lowest act of his humility (the washing his Disciples feet) he told them, [ye call me Lord, and Master, and ye say well, for so I am.] It may be so with you. Nay it must be as the sonne of Man; But then, the being called Rabbi, or Lord, nay the being Lord in spirituali Magisterio & regimine, in a spirituall superintendency, and ὡς πᾶς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, may stand

with the humility of the Gospell, and office of Ministration.

* In locis ubi
supra.

Gen. 1.

Psal. 110.

Psal. 2.

So that now I shall not need to take advantage of the word * *ἐπισκευάζειν*, which signifies to rule with more then a politicall regiment, even with an absolute, and despotick, and is so used in *holy Scripture*, viz. in *sequiorem partem*. God gave authority to Man over the creatures, *ἐπισκευάζειν* is the word in the *septuagint*, and we know the power that man hath over beasts, is to kill, and to keep alive. And thus to our blessed Saviour, the power that God gave him over his enemies is expressed by *ἐπισκευάζειν*. *ἐπισκευάζειν ἐστὶν μίσην ἢ ἐχθρὸν εἶναι*. And this wee know how it must be exercised, *ἐν ῥάβδῳ αὐστηρᾷ* with a rod of iron, *ὡς τὰ δὲ κροτάλια σπασσέντες αὐτοὺς*. He shall break them in pieces like a potters vessell. That's *ἐπισκευάζειν*. But it shall not be so with you.

But let this be as true as it will. The answer needs no way to rely upon a *Criticisme*. It is cleare, that the forme of Regiment only is distinguished, not all Regiment, and authority taken away. *ἐκ ἑσθῆτος*, but *ὡς πατὴρ ἰσχύει*, Not as the Kings of the Gentiles, but as the sonne of man; so must your regiment be, for sicut misit me Pater, &c. As my father hath sent me, even so send I you. It must be a government, not for your Impery, but for the service of the Church. So that it is not for your advancement, but the publick ministry that you are put to rule over the Household. * And thus the Fathers expresse the authority and regiment of Bishops. * *Qui vocatur ad Episcopatum non ad Principatum vocatur, sed ad servitutem totius Eccle.*

sia (saith *Origen*.) And *S. Hierom*; *Episcopi Sacerdotes se esse noverint, non Dominos*; And yet *S. Hierom* himselfe writing to *S. Austin*, calls him, *Dominus verè sancte, & suscipiende Papa.* * *Forma Apostolica hac est, Dominatio interdicatur, indicatur Ministratio.* It is no Principality that the Apostles have, but it is a Ministry; a Ministry in chiefe, the officers of which Ministration must governe, and wee must obey. They must governe not in a temporall regiment by vertue of their Episcopacy, but in a spirituall, not for honour to the Rulers, so much as for benefit and service to the subject. So *S. Austin.* *Nomen est operis, non honoris, ut intelligat se non esse Episcopum qui praeesse dilexerit, non prodesse.* And in the fourteenth chapter of the same book, *Qui imperant servant ijs rebus quibus videntur Imperare. Non enim dominandi cupidine imperant, sed officio consulendi, nec principandi superbiâ, sed providendi misericordiâ.* And all this is intimated in the Propheti-
 call visions, where the regiment of Christ is design'd by the face of a man; and the Empire of the world, by Beasts. The first is the regiment of a Father, the second of a King. The first spirituall, the other secular. And of the Fatherly authority it is that the Prophet saies, Instead of Fathers thou shalt have Children, whom thou maist make Princes in all lands. This (say the Fathers) is spoken of the Apostles and their Successors the Bishops, who may be ἀρχιεπίσκοποι, Princes or Rulers of Churches, not Princes of Kingdomes by vertue or challenge of their Apostolate. But if this Ecclesiasticall rule, or chieftly

*homil. 6. in
1^a i.*

*S. Bernard.
lib. 10. de con-
siderat.*

*lib. 19. de ci-
uit. Dei.
cap. 19.*

cheisty be interdicted, I wonder how the Presidents of the Presbyters, the *presbiteri* in the Reformed Churches will acquit themselves? How will their *Superiority* be reconciled to the place, though it be but *temporary*? For is it a sinne, if it continues, and no sinne if it lasts but for a weeke? or is it lawfull to sinne, and domineere, and Lord it over their Brethren for a weeke together? * But suppose it were, what will they say, that are perpetuall Dictators? *Calvin* was perpetuall president, and *Beza*, till *Danau* came to *Geneva*, even for many yearstogether? * But beyond all this how can the Presbytery which is a fixt lasting body rule and governe in causes Spirituall and Consistoriall, and that over all *Princes*, and *Ministers*, and people, and that for ever? For is it a sinne in *Episcopacy* to doe so, and not in the *Presbytery*? If it be lawfull here, then *Christ* did not interdict it to the *Apostles*, for who will think that a Presbytery shall have leave to domineere, and (as they call it now a dayes) to Lord it over their Brethren, when a Colledge of *Apostles* shall not be suffered to governe? but if the *Apostles* may governe, then we are brought to a right understanding of our *Saviours* saying to the sonnes of *Zebedee*, and then also, their successors, the *Bishops* may doe the same.

If I had any further need of answer or escape, it were easy to pretend, that this being a particular directory to the *Apostles*, was to expire with their persons. So *S. Cyprian* intimates. *Apostoli pari su-
ère consortio pradii, & honoris, & dignitatis*; and indeed

*De Unitat Ec-
clesiæ.*

indeed this may be concluding against the Supremacy of S. Peter's Successors, but will be no waies pertinent to impugne Episcopall authority. For *inter se* they might be equall, and yet Superiour to the Presbyters, and the people.

Lastly, [*It shall not be so with you*] so Christ said, *non designando officium*, but *Sortem*; not their duty, but their lot; intimating that their future condition should not be honorary, but full of trouble, not advanc'd, but perlecuted. But I had rather insist on the first answer, in which I desire it be remembred, that I said, seeking temporall Principality to be forbidden the Apostles, as an *Appendix to the office of an Apostle*. For in other capacities Bishops are as receptive of honour and temporall principalities as other men. Bishops *ut sic* are not secular Princes, must not seeke for it; But some secular Princes may be Bishops, as in *Germany*, and in other places to this day they are. For it is as unlawfull for a Bishop to have any Land, as to have a Country, and a single acre is no more due to the Order, then a Province; but both these may be conjunct in the same person, though still by vertue of Christs precept, the functions and capacities must be distinguish'd; according to the saying of Synesius *συνάπτει τὴν βασιλίαν τῇ ιερωσίῃ συγχλῶδον ἐστὶ τὸ ἀσύγχαλον*. To confound and intermixe the Kingdome and the Priesthood, is to joyne things impossible and inconsistent, Inconsistent (I say) not in person, but absolutely discrepant in function.

3. Consider we, that S. Peter, when he speaks

X x

of

of the duteous subordination of *Sarah* to her Husband *Abraham*, he propounds her as an example to all married women, in these words [*she obeyed Abraham, and called him Lord*] why was this spoken to Christian women, but that they should doe so too? And is it imaginable that such an Honourable compellation as Christ allowes every woman to give to her husband, a Mechanick, a hard-handed artizan, he would forbid to those eminent pillars of his Church, those lights of Christendome whom he really indued with a plenitude of power for the regiment of the Catholike Church. *Credas Apella.*

4. PASTOR, and FATHER, are as honourable titles as any. They are honourable in Scripture. *Honour thy Father &c:* Thy Father, in all senses. They are also made sacred by being the appellatives of *Kings*, and *Bishops*, and that not onely in secular addresses, but even in *holy Scripture*, as is knowne.

Acts, 15.
Rom, 12.
Hebr. 13.

* Adde to this; ἡγεμον, ἐπισκοπος, and ποιμεν are used in Scripture for the *Prelates* of the Church, and I am certaine, that, *Duke*, and *Captaine*, *Rulers*, and *Commanders* are but just the same in English, that the other are in Greeke, and the least of these is as much as *chief*, or *Lord*. And then if we consider that since Christ erected a *spirituall regiment*, and us'd words of secular honour to expresse it, as in the instances above, although Christ did interdict a secular principality, yet he forbade not a secular title; He us'd many himselfe.

5. The voyce of the Spouse, the holy Church hath alwaies expresseed their honourable estimate in
reverentiall

reverentiall compellations and Epithets of honour to their *Bishops*, and have taught us so to doe. * *Bishops* were called *Principes Ecclesiarum*, *Princes of the Churches*. I had occasion to instance it in the question of Iurisdiction. Indeed the third Councell of *Carthage* forbad the *Bishop of Carthage* to be called *Princeps Sacerdotum*, or *summus Sacerdos*, or *aliquid huiusmodi*, but onely *prima sedis Episcopus*. I know not what their meaning was, unless they would dictate a lesson of humility to their *Primate*, that he might remember the principality not to be so much in his person, as in the See, for he might be called *Bishop of the prime See*. But whatsoever fancy they had at *Carthage*, I am sure it was a guise of Christendome, not to speake of *Bishops sine praefatione honoris*, but with honourable mention. τῷ κυρίῳ μακαριστῇ, To our most blessed LORD. So the letters were superscribed to *Iulius Bishop of Rome* from some of his Brethren, in *Sozomen*. Let no man speake Untruths of mee *καὶ ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἐπαινοῦμεν*, *Epist. ad*
Nor of MY LORDS THE BISHOPS, said *S. Gregory* *Greg. Nyssen.*
Nazianzen. The Synodicall book of the Councell of *Constantinople* is inscribed DOMINIS REVERENDISSIMIS, ac pijs^{lib. 2. cap. 23.}simis Fratribus ac Collegi^{Epist. ad},
Damaso, Ambrosio &c: To our most Reverend LORDS, *Greg. Nyssen.*
and holy Brethren &c: And the Councell of *Illyricum* sending their Synodall letters to the *Bishops of Asia*, by *Bishop Elpidius*, *Hec pluribus* (say they) *Theodores.*
persequi non est visum, quod miserimus unum ex *lib. 5. ca. 9.*
omnibus, DOMINUM, & Collegam nostrum Elpidi- *Theodor.*
um, qui cognosceret, esset ne sicut dictum fuerat à *lib. 4. cap. 9.*

DOMINO, & Collega nostro Eustathio. Our Lord, and Brother Elpidius. Our Lord and Brother Eustathius. * The oration in the Councell of Epaunum begins thus. *Quod precipientibus tantis DOMINIS MEIS ministerium proferendi sermonis assumo &c:* The Prolocutor tooke that office on him, at the command of so many GREAT LORDS THE BISHOPS. * When the Church of Spayne became Catholike, and abjur'd the Arian heresy, King Recaredus in the third Councell of Toledo made a speech to the Bishops, *Non incognitum reor esse vobis, REVERENDISSIMI Sacerdotes &c: Non credimus vestram latere SANCTITATEM &c: vestra Cognovit BEATITUDO &c: VENERANDI PATRES &c:* And these often, Your Holinesse, your Blessednesse, Most Reverend, Venerable Fathers; Those were the addressees the King made to the Fathers of the Synod. Thus it was when Spaine grew Catholike; But not such a Speech to be found in all the Arian records. They amongst them us'd but little Reverence to their Bishops. But the instances of this kind are innumerable. Nothing more ordinary in Antiquity then to speake of Bishops with the titles of *κλεινὸν ἡγούμενον, ἀρχιεπίσκοπον, ἀποστόλον, Δομινὸν* verè Sancte, & suscipiende Papa, So S. Hierome a Presbyter, to S. Austin a Bishop. *Secundum enim honorum vocabula quae jam Ecclesiae usus obtinuit Episcopatus Presbyterio major est,* saith S. Austin. Episcopacy is Greater then the office and dignity of a Presbyter according to the TITLES OF HONOUR which the custome of the Church hath introduc'd. * But I shall summe up these particulars

Theodor. lib. 2.
c. 4. & c. 5.
Arhanas. Apolog. 2.

Epi 2. 17. 18.
15 apud S.
Augustin.

particulars in a totall, which is thus expressed by S. Chrysostome. *Hæretici à Diabolo HONORUM VOCABULA Episcopis non dare didicerunt.* in Psal. 13. apud Baron. An. Dom. 58. Hereticks have learned of the Devill not to give due titles of honour to Bishops. The good Patriarch was angry surely when he said so. * For my owne particular, I am confident that my Lords the Bishops doe so undervalue any fastuous, or pompous title, that were not the duty of their people in it, they would as easily reject them, as it is our duties piously to use them. But if they still desire appellatives of honour, we must give them, they are their due, if they desire them not, they deserve them much more. So that either for their humility, or however for their works sake we must [*highly honour them that have the rule over us*]. 1. The Gal. 5. 13. It is the precept of S. Paul, and S. Cyprian observing how Curious our blessed Saviour was that he might give honour to the Priests of the Jewes, even then when they were reeking in their malice hot as the fire of Hell, he did it to teach us a duty. *Docuit enim Sacerdotes veros LEGITIME ET PLENE HONORARI dum circa falsos Sacerdotes ipse talis extitit.* Epist. 65. It is the argument he uses to procure a full honour to the Bishop.

* To these I adde; If sitting in a THRONE even above the seate of Elders be a title of a great dignity, then we have it confirmed by the voice of all Antiquity calling the *Bishops chaire*, A THRONE, and the investiture of a Bishop in his Church AN INTHRONIZATION. *Quando INTHRONIZANTUR propter communem utilitatem Episcopi &c:* saith P.

Anterus in his decretall Epistle to the Bishops of *Bætica* and *Toledo*. **INTHRONING** is the Primitive word for the consecration of a Bishop. *Sedes in Episcoporum Ecclesiis excelsa constituta & preparata, UT THRONUS speculationem & potestatem judicandi à Domino sibi datam materiam docent*, (saith *Urban*). And *S. Ignatius* to his Deacon *Hero*, *μελέμει δὲ τίς τῶν κληρῶν τῷ Κρείντῳ Χειρῶν..... ὅτι δὲ ξύμμι δὲ βούλῃ Ἡμεῶν ὅτι τῷ ὁφειμὲν μὲν*, I trust that the Father of our Lord *Jesus Christ* will show to me *Hero* sitting upon my **THRONE**.

Epist. decret.

Epist. ad
Heracl.

Urban. ibid.

Epist. ad
Magnes.

* * The summe of all is this. Bishops if they must be at all, most certainly must be beloved, it is our duties, and their worke deserves it. *S. Paul* was as deare to the *Galatians*, as their eyes, and it is true eternally, *Formosipedes Evangelizantium*, the feete of the Preachers of the Gospell are beauteous, and then much more of the chiefe. *Ideo ista prætulimus (charissimi) ut intelligatis potestatem Episcoporum vestrorum, in eisq; Deum veneremini, & eos UT ANIMAS VESTRAS diligatis, ut quibus illi non communicant, non communicetis &c*: Now, love to our Superiours is ever honourable, for it is more then amicitia, that's amongst Peeres, but love to our Betters, is Reverence, Obedience, and high Esteem. And if we have the one, the dispute about the other would be a meere impertinence. I end this with the saying of *S. Ignatius*, & *vos decet non contemnere a-tatem Episcopi, sed juxta Dei Patris arbitrium OMNEM ILLI IMPERTIRI REVERENTIAM*. It is the **WILL OF GOD the Father**, that we should give all
REVE.

REVERENCE, HONOUR, or veneration to our Bishops.

VELL ! However things are now, It was otherwise in the Old Religion; for no honour was thought too great for them whom God had honoured with so great degrees of approximation to himselfe in power, and authority. But then also they went further. For they thought whom God had intrusted with their soules, they might with an equall confidence trust with their personall actions, and imployments of greatest trust.

§. 49.
And trusted
with af-
fayres of
Secular in-
terest.

For it was Great Consideration that they who were *Antistites religionis* the *Doctors*, and great *Dictators* of Faith and conscience, should be the composers of those affayres in whose determination, a Divine wisdom, and interests of conscience and the authority of religion were the best ingredients.

But, it is worth observing how the Church and the Common-wealth did actions contrary to each other, in pursuance of their severall interests. The Common-wealth still enabled *Bishops* to take cognisance of causes, and the confidence of their owne people would be sure to carry them thither where they hop'd for faire issue, upon such good grounds as they might fairely expect from the *Bishops* abilities, authority, and religion, But on the other side, the Church did as much decline them as shee could, and made sanctions against it so farre as shee might without taking from themselves all opportunities.

tunities both of doing good to their people, and engaging the secular arme to their owne assistance. But this we shall see by consideration of particulars.

1. Cor. 6.

In hunc locum.

I. It was not *in Natura rei* unlawfull for *Bishops* to receive an office of secular imployment. *S. Paul's* tent-making was as much against the calling of an *Apostle*, as sitting in a secular tribunall is against the office of a *Bishop*. And it is hard, if we will not allow that to the conveniences of a Republike which must be indulged to a private, personall necessity. But we have not *S. Paul's* example onely, but his rule too, according to Primitive exposition. [*Dare any of you having a matter before another goe to law before the Vnjust, and not before the Saints? If then ye have judgements of things pertaining to this life, set them to judge who are least esteemed in the Church*] who are they? The Clergy I am sure, now adayes. But *S. Ambrose* also thought that to be his meaning seriously. Let the *Ministers* of the Church be the *Iudges*. For by [*least esteemed*] he could not meane the most ignorant of the Laity, they would most certainly have done very strange justice, especially in such causes which they Understand not. No, but set them to judge who by their office are Servants, and Ministers of all, and those are the Clergy who (as *S. Paul's* expression is) *Preach not themselves, but Iesus to be the Lord, and themselves your servants for Iesus sake. Melius dicis apud Dei Ministros agere causam.* Yea but *S. Paul's* expression seemes to exclude the Governours
of

of the Church from intermeddling. [*Is there not one wise man among you that is able to Iudge betweene his Brethren?*] Why Brethren, if Bishops and Priests were to be the Iudges, they are Fathers? The objection is not worth the noting, but onely for S. Ambrose his answer to it. *Ideo autem Fratrem Iudicem eligendam dicit, quia adhuc Rector Ecclesia illorum non erat ordinatus.* S. Paul us'd the word [*Brethren*] for as yet a Bishop was not ordained amongst them of that Church, intimating that the Bishop was to be the man, though till then, *in subsidium* any prudent Christian man might be employed. Vide etiam August. de opere Monach. ca. 29.

2. The Church did alwaies forbid to Clergy-men A VOLUNTARY ASSUMPTION of ingagements in REBUS SÆCULI. So the sixth Canon of the A-Ca. 7. Latin. postles, *ἐπίσκοποι, ἢ πρεσβύτεροι, ἢ διάκονοι κοσμητικὰς περὶ τούτων μὴ ἀναλαμβάνειν. εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἐξδαίρειτο.* A Bishop, and a Vide Zonari. Ca. Apostol. Priest, and a Deacon, must not assume, or take on himselfe worldly cares. If he does, let him be depos'd. Here the Prohibition is generall. No worldly cares. Not domestick. But how if they come on him by Divine imposition, or accident? That's nothing, if he does not assume them; that is, by his voluntary act acquire his owne trouble. So that if his secular imployment be an act of obedience, indeed it is trouble to him, but no sinne. But if he seekes it, for it selfe, it is ambition. In this sense also must the following Canon be understood. *κληρικὸς ἱγυῖας ἑαυτοῦ ἐξδαίρειτο.* A Clerk must not be a Tutor, or Guardian, viz: of secular trust, that is must not seeke a diversion from his imployment by voluntary Tutorship.

Concil. Chal-
ced. 451.
can. 3.

3. The Church also forbid all secular negotiation for base ends, not precisely the imployment it selfe, but the illnesse of the intention, and this indeed shee expressly forbids in her Canons. * *Pervenit ad Sanctam Synodum quod quidam qui in Clero sunt affecti PROPTER LUCRA TURPIA conductores alienarum possessionum fiant, & sacularia negotia sub cura sua suscipiant, Dei quidem Ministerium parvipendentes, Sacularium vero discurrantes domos & PROPTER AVARITIAM patrimoniorum sollicitudinem sumentes.* Clergy men farmers of lands, and did take upon them secular imployment FOR COVETOUS DESIGNES, and with neglect of the Church. These are the things the Councell complain'd of, and therefore according to this exigence the following Sanction is to be understood. *Decrevit itaq; hoc Sanctum magnumq; Concilium, nullum deinceps, non Episcopum, non Clericum vel Monachum aut possessiones conducere, aut negotijs secularibus se immiscere.* No Bishop, No Clergy man, No Monke must farme grounds, nor ingage himselfe in secular businesse. What in none? No, none, *preter pupillorum, si forte leges imponant inexcusabilem curam, aut civitatis Episcopus Ecclesiasticarum rerum sollicitudinem habere precipiat, aut Orphanorum, & viduarum earum qua sine ulla defensione sunt, ac personarum qua maxime Ecclesiastico indigent adjutorio, & propter timorem Domini causa deposcat.* This Canon will doe right to the Question.

All secular affaires, and bargaines either for covetousnesse, or with considerable disturbance of Church

Church offices are to be avoided. For a Clergy man must not be covetous, much lesse for covetise must he neglect his cure. To this purpose is that of the second Councell of *Arles*, *Clericus turpis lucri gratiâ aliquod genus negotiationis non exerceat.* Cau. 14. But nor here, nor at *Chalcedon* is the prohibition absolute, nor declaratory of an inconstitence and incapacity, for, for all this, the *Bishop* or *Clerk* may doe any office that is *in piâ curâ*. He may undertake the *supravision of Widdowes*, and *Orphans*. And though he be forbid by the Canon of the *Apostles* to be a *guardian of pupills*, yet it is expounded here by this Canon of *Chalcedon*, for a voluntary seeking it is forbidden by the *Apostles*, but here it is permitted only with, *si fortè leges imponant*, if the Law, or Authority commands him, then he may undertake it. That is, if either the *Emperor* commands him, or if the *Bishop* permits him, then it is lawfull. But without such command or license it was against the Canon of the *Apostles*. And therefore *S. Cyprian* did himselve severely punish *Geminus Faustinus*, one of the Priests of *Carthage*, for undertaking the executorship of the Testament of *Geminus Victor*: he Epiß. 66. had no leave of his *Bishop* so to doe, and for him of his own head to undertake that which would be an avocation of him from his office, did in *S. Cyprians* Consistory, deserve a censure. 3. By this Canon of *Chalcedon*, any Clerk may be the *Oeconomus* or steward of a Church, and dispense her revenue if the *Bishop* command him. 4. He may undertake the patronage, or assistance of any distressed person that

*Fide Synod.
Roman. sub
Sylvestr. c. 4.
Concil. Chal-
ced. c. 26. &
Zonar. ibid.*

needs the Churches ayde. * From hence it is evident that all secular imployment did not *hoc ipso* advocate a Clergy man from his necessary office and duty; for some secular imployments are permitted him, all causes of piety, of charity, all occurrences concerning the revenues of the Church, and nothing for covetousnesse, but any thing in obedience, any thing I meane of the fore-named instances. Nay the affaires of Church revenues, and dispensation of Ecclesiasticall Patrimony was imposed on the Bishop by the *Canons Apostolicall*, and then considering how many possessions were deposited first at the Apostles feet, and afterwards in the Bishops hands, we may quickly perceive that a case may occur in which something else may be done by the Bishop and his Clergy besides prayer and preaching. *αὐτὸς ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἡμετέρος καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἡμετέρας ἐκκλησίας.* Iain Ignatius to S. Polycarpe of Smyrna. Let not the Widdowes be neglected; after God, doe thou take care of them. * *Qui locupletes sunt, & volunt, pro arbitrio quisq; suo quod libitum est contribuit; & quod collectum est apud Praesidem deponitur, atq; is inde opitulatur Orphanis, & viduis, iisq; qui vel morbo, vel aliâ de causâ egent: tum iis qui vinciti sunt, & peregrè advenientibus hospitibus: & ut uno verbo dicam, omnium indigentium Curator est.* All the Collects and Offerings of faithfull people are deposited with the Bishop, and thence he dispenses for the reliefe of the widdowes, and Orphans, thence he provides for travellers, and in one word, he takes care of all indigent, and necessitous people. So it was in Iustin Martyrs time and

*Iustin. Mart.
tyr. Apolog. 2.*

and all this, a man would think, requir'd a considerable portion of his time, besides his studies and prayer and preaching.

This was also done even in the *Apostles* times, for first they had the provision of all the Goods, and persons of the *canonibium*, of the Church at *Ierusalem*. This they themselves administred till a complaint arose, which might have prov'd a Scandall; then they chose seven men, men full of the holy Ghost, men that were Priests, for they were of the 70 *Disciples* saith *Epiphanius*, and such men as Preached, and Baptized, so *S. Stephen*, and *S. Philip*, therefore to be sure they were Clergy-men, and yet they left their preaching for a time, at least abated of the height of the employment, for therefore the *Apostles* appointed them, that themselves might not leave the word of God and serve Tables; plainly implying that such men who were to serve these Tables, must leave the Ministry of the word, in some sense or degree, and yet they chose Presbyters, and no harme neither, and for a while themselves had the employment. I say there was no harme done, by this temporary office, to their Priestly function and employment. For to me it is considerable. If the calling of a Presbyter does not take up the whole man, then what inconvenience though his employment be mixt with secular allay. But if it does take up the whole man, then it is not safe for any Presbyter ever to become a *Bishop*, which is a dignity of a farre greater burden, and requires more then a Man's all, if all was requir'd to

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*Vide Syrod.
Roman. sub
Sylvestr. c. 4.
Concil. Chal-
ced. c. 26. et
Zonar. ibid.*

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*Iustin. Mart.
1. 1. c. 27.*

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the function of a Presbyter. But I proceed.

4. The Church prohibiting secular employment to Bishops and Clerks, doe prohibite it, onely *in gradu impedimenti officii Clericalis*; and therefore when the offices are supplied by any of the Order, it is never prohibited but that the personall abilities of any man may be imployed for the fairest advantages either of Church, or Common-wealth. And therefore it is observeable that the Canons provide that the Church be not destitute, not that such a particular Clerke should there officiate. Thus the Councell of Arles decreed, *ut Presbyteri Sicur*
HACTENUS FACTUM EST, *INDISCRETE per di-*
versan non mittantur loca ne fortè propter eorum
absentiam, & animarum pericula, & Ecclesiarum in
quibus constituti sunt, negligantur officia. So that here we see, 1. That it had been usuall to send Priests on Embassyes [*sicut hactenus factum est*]
 2. The Canon forbids the *indiscreet* or *promiscuous* doing of it; not that men of great ability & choyce be not imployed, but that there be discretion, or discerning in the choyce of the men. *viz.* that such men be chosen whose particular worth did by advancing the legation, make compensation for absence from their Churches; and then I am sure there was no indiscretion in the Embassy, *quoad hoc* at least; for the ordinary offices of the Church might be dispensed by men of even abilities, but the extraordinary affaires of both states require men of an heightened apprehension. 3. The Canon only took care that the cure of the soules of a Parish be not relinqui-

Apud Bur-
ghard. lib. 2.
decret. cap. 99.

linquished, for so is the title of the Canon, *Ne Presbyteri causâ legationis per diversa mittantur loca, curâ animarum relictâ*. But then if the cure be supplied by delegation, the feares of the Canon are prevented.

* In pursuance of this consideration the Church forbad Clergy-men to receive honour, or secular preferment; and so it is expressed where the prohibition is made. It is in the Councell of Chalcedon.

Qui semel in clero deputati sunt, aut Monachorum vitam expetiverunt, statuimus neq. ad militiam, neq. ad dignitatem aliquam venire mundanam. That's the inhibition; But the Canon subjoynes a temper; *aut hoc tentantes, & non agentes penitentiam, quo minus redeant ad hoc quod propter Deum primitus elegerunt, anathematizari*, they must not turne Souldiers, or enter upon any worldly dignity to make them leave their function, which for the honour of God they have first chosen: for then, it seemes, he that tooke on him military honours, or secular prefectures, or consular dignity, could not officiate in holy Orders, but must renounce them to assume the other; It was in obstruction of this abuse that the Canon directed its prohibition, *viç.* in this sence clearely, that a Clerk must not so take on him secular offices, as to make him *redire in saculum*, having put his hand to the plow, to look back, to change his profession, or to relinquish the Church, and make her become a Widdow. The case of S. Matthew and S. Peter, distinguish, and cleare this businesse. *Ecce reliquimus omnia*, was the profession of their Clericall office.

S. Mat-

Part. 2. Art.
15. Can. 7.

S. *Matthew* could not returne to his trade of *Publican* at all, for that would have taken him from his *Apostolate*. But S. *Peter* might and did returne to his nets, for all his *reliqui omnia*. Plainly telling us that a SECULAR CALLING, a CONTINUED FIX'D ATTENDANCE on a businesse of the world is an impediment to the Clericall office, and ministration, but not a temporary imployment or secession.

C38. 20.

5. The Canons of the Church doe as much forbid the cares of household, as the cares of public-like imployment to Bishops. So the fourth Councell of *Carthage* decrees. *Vt Episcopus nullam rei familiaris curam ad se revocet, sed lectioni, & orationi, & verbi Dei prädicationi tantummodo uscet.* Now if this Canon be confronted with that saying of S. *Paul* [*He that provides not for them of his own household is worse then an infidell*] it will easily informe us of the Churches intention. For they must provide, saith S. *Paul*, But yet so provide as not to hinder their imployment, or else they transgresse the Canon of the Councell; but this caveat may be as well entred, and observed in things Politicall, as Oeconomicall.

Thus farre we have seene what the Church hath done in pursuance of her owne interest, and that was that she might with sanctity, and without distraction, tend her Grand imployment; but yet many cases did occurre in which she did canonically permitt an alienation of imployment, and revocation of some persons from an assiduity of Ecclesiastical

astically attendance, as in the case of the seven set over the widdowes, and of *S. Peter*, and *S. Paul*, and all the *Apostles* and the *Canon of Chalcedon*.

Now let us see how the Common-wealth also pursued her interest, and because shee found *Bishops* men of Religion and great trust, and confident abilities, there was no reason that the Common-wealth should be disserv'd in the promotion of able men to a *Bishops throne*. * Who would have made recompence to the Emperour for depriving him of *Ambrose* his prefect, if Episcopall promotion had made him incapable of serving his Prince in any great Negotiation? It was a remarkable passage in *Ignatius*, & ἐν ἐπισκοπῇ ὡς αὐτὸν ὁ Κνέων δι' αἰσθημάτων, *Epist. ad*
 τὸν κληρὸν αἰσθημάτων. ἐξέτισεν ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ ὁξυλὸς τῆς ἡρώδης βασι- *Epist.*
 λῆτος δι' παραίταται, καὶ μὴ παραίταται ἀνδρώπολις τωδεῖς. As our
Lord is to be observ'd so also must we observe the BISHOP, because he assists and serves the Lord. And
wisemen, and of great Vnderstanding must SERVE
KINGS, for he must not be serv'd with men of small
 parts. Here either *Ignatius* commends Bishops to the service of Kings, or else propounds them as the fittest men in the world to doe them service. For if onely men of great abilities are fit to serve Kings, surely as great abilities are required to inable a man for the service of God in so peculiar manner of approximation. He then that is fit to be a *Bishop*, is most certainly fit for the service of his King. This is the sence of *Ignatius* his discourse.

For consider. Christianity might be suspected for a designe; and if the Church should choose the

best, and most pregnant Understandings for her imployment, and then these men become incapable of ayding the Republike, the promotion of these men, would be an injury to those Princes whose affayres would need support. * The interest of the Subjects also is considerable. For we find by experience, that no authority is so full of regiment, and will so finely force obedience, as that which is seated in the Conscience; And therefore *Numa Pompilius* made his lawes, and imposed them with a face of religious solemnity. For the people are stronger then any one Governour, and were they not awed by Religion, would quickly *miscere Sacra prophanis*, jumble heaven and earth into a miscellany, and therefore not onely in the Sanction of lawes, but in the execution of them, the *Antistites religionis* are the most competent instruments; and this was not onely in all religions that ever were, and in ours ever till now, but even now we should quickly find it, were but our *Bishops* in that Veneration, and esteeme that by the law of God they ought, and that actually they were in the Calenture of primitive devotion, and that the Doctors of Religion were ever even amongst the most barbarous and untaught Pagans.

Upon the confidence of these advantages, both the Emperours themselves when they first became Christian allowed appeales from secular tribunalls to the * *Bishops* Consistory, even in causes of secular interest, and the people would choose to have their difficulties there ended whence they expected the

* *Socrom. lib.*
1. cap. 9.

the issues of justice, and religion. * I say this was done as soone as ever the Emperours were Christian. Before this time, *Bishops*, and Priests (to be sure) could not be employed in state affayres, they were odious for their Christianity; and then no wonder if the Church forbad secular employment in meaner offices, the attendance on which could by no means make recompense for the least avocation of them from their Church employment. So that it was not onely the avocation but the sordidnesse of the employment that was prohibited the Clergy in the Constitutions of holy Church. But as soone as ever their employment might be such as to make compensation for a temporary secession, neither Church nor State did then prohibite it; And that was as loone as ever the Princes were Christian, for then immediately the *Bishops* were employed in honorary negotiations. It was evident in the case of *S. Ambrose*. For the Church of *Millaine* had him for their *Bishop*, and the Emperour had him one of his prefects, and the people their judge in causes of secular cognisance. For when he was chosen Bishop the Emperour who was present at the election cryed out, *Gratias tibi ago Domine ... quoniam huic* Tripart. hist. lib. 7. cap. 8.
viro ego quidem commisi corpora; tu autem animas,
& meam electionem ostendisti tua justitia convenire.
 So that he was *Bishop*, and Governour of *Millaine* at the same time; And therefore by reason of both these offices *S. Austin* was forc'd to attend a good while before he could find him at leisure. *Non enim* S. August. lib. 6. Confess. cap. 4.
querere ab eo poteram quod volebam sicut volebam,

Epist. 110.

Epist. 147.

de opere Mo-
nach. cap. 29.Tripart. hist.
lib. 4. cap. 25.lib. 10. cap. 6.
ibid.
lib. 11. cap. 8.
ibid.

secludentibus me ab ejus aures, atq; ore catervis negotio-
 rorum hominum, quorum infirmitatibus servie-
 bat. And it was his owne condition too, when he
 came to sit in the chayre of Hippo; *Non permittor
 ad quod volo vacare ante meridiem; post meridiem
 occupationibus hominum teneor.* And againe, & ho-
 mines quidam causas suas saculares apud nos finire
 cupientes, quando eis necessary fuerimus, sic nos San-
 ctos, & Dei servos appellant, ut negotia terra sua pe-
 ragant. Aliquando & agamus negotium salutis nostra
 & salutis ipsorum, non de auro, non de argento non de
 fundis, & pecoribus, pro quibus rebus quotidie sub-
 misso capite salutamur ut dissensiones hominum termi-
 nemus. It was almost the businesse of every day to
 him, to judge causes concerning Gold, and Silver,
 Cattell, and glebe, and all appertenances of this
 life. This S. Austin would not have done, if it had
 not been lawfull, so we are to suppose in charity;
 but yet this we are sure of, S. Austin thought it not
 only lawfull, but a part of his duty, [quibus nos
 molestijs idem affixit Apostolus, and that by the au-
 thority, not of himselfe, but of him that spake with-
 in him, even the H. Ghost:] so he.

Thus also it was usuall for Princes in the Primi-
 tive Church to send Bishops their Embassadors.
 Constantine the Emperour sent two Bishops chosen out
 of the Councell of Sardus together with Salianus
 the Great Master of his Army to Constantinus * S.
 Chrysostom was sent Embassador to Gainas. Ma-
 ruthus the Bishop of Mesopotamia was sent Embass-
 adour from the Emperour to Isdigerdes the King
 of

of *Persia*. S. *Ambrose* from *Valentinian* the yonger to the Tyrant *Maximus*. * *Dorotheus* was a Bishop and a chamberlaine to the *Emperour*. Many more examples there are of the concurrence of the Episcopall office, and a secular dignity or imployment. Now then Consider. * The Church did not, might not challenge any secular honour, or imployment by vertue of her Ecclesiasticall dignity precisely. 2. The Church might not be ambitious, or indagative of such imployment. 3. The Church's interest abstractly considered was not promoted by such imployment, but where there was no greater way of compensation was interrupted and depress'd. 4. The Church (though in some cases shee was allowed to make secession, yet) might not relinquish her owne charge, to intervene in anothers ayd. 5. The Church did by no meanes suffer her Clerks, to undertake any low secular imployment, much more did shee forbid all fordid ends, and Covetous designes. 6. The Bishop, or his Clerks might never do any action of piety, though of secular burden. Clerks were never forbidden to reade Grammer, or Philosophy to youth, to be Masters of Schooles, of Hospitalls, they might reconcile their Neighbours that were false out, about a personall trespassse, or reall action, and yet since now a dayes a Clergy-man's imployment and capacity is bounded within his Pulpit, or reading deske, or his study of Divinity at most, these that I have reckoned are as verily secular as any thing, and yet no law of Christendome ever prohibited any of these

lib. 1. Epist. Ambros. 31. Luc. 11. 8. cap. 1.

or any of the like Nature to the Clergy, nor any thing that is ingenuous, that is fit for a Scholler, that requires either finenesse of parts, or great learning, or overruling authority, or exemplary piety. 7. Clergy-men might do any thing that was imposed on them by their Superiours. 8. The Bishops, and Priests were men of Great ability and surest confidence for determinations of Iustice, in which, religion was ever the strongest binder. And therefore the Princes and People sometimes forc'd the Bishops from their owne interest to serve the Common-wealth, & in it they serv'd themselves directly, and by consequence too, the Church had not only a sustentation from the secular arme, but an addition of honour, and secular advantages, and all this warranted by precedent of Scripture, and the practice of the Primitive Church, and particularly of men whom all succeeding ages have put into the Calendar of Saints. * So that it would be considered, that all this while, it is the kings interest, and the Peoples that is pleaded, when we assert a capacity to the *Bishops* to undertake charges of publike trust. It is no addition to the calling of *Bishops*. It serves the *King*, it assists the republike, and in such a plethory, and almost a surfet of Clergy-men as this age is supplied with, it can be no disservice to the Church, whose dayly offices may be plentifully supplied by Vicars, and for the temporary avocation of some few, abundant recompence is made to the Church (which is not at all injured) by becoming an occasion of indearing the Church, to those whose aide shee is.

* There

* There is an admirable epistle written by *Petrus Blesensis* in the name of the *Arch-bishop of Canterbury* to *P. Alexander* the third in the defence of the *Bishop of Ely, Winchester & Norwich* that attended the Court upon service of the *King*. *Non est novum* (saith he) *quod Regum Consiliis intersint Episcopi*. *Sicut enim honestate, & sapientiâ ceteros antecedunt, sic expeditiores, & efficaciores in reip. administratione censentur. Quia sicut Scriptum est* [*minus salubriter disponitur regnum, quod non regitur consilio sapientum*] *In quo notatur eos consiliis Regum debere assistere, qui sciant & velint, & possint patientibus compati, paci terrâ, ac populi salutî prospicere, erudire ad justitiam Reges, imminentibus occurere periculis, vitâq. maturioris exemplis informare subditos & quâdam autoritate potestativâ præsumptionem malignantium cohibere.* It is no new thing for Bishops to be Counsellors to Princes (saith he) their wisdom and piety that enables them for a Bishoprick proclaimes them fit instruments to promote the publike tranquillity of the Common-wealth. They know how to comply with oppressed people, to advance designs of peace, and publike security; It is their office to instruct the King to righteousness, by their sanctity to be a rule to the Court, and to diffuse their exemplary piety over the body of the Kingdom, to mixe influences of religion with designs of state, to make them have as much of the dove as of the serpent, and by the advantage of their religious authority to restrain the malignity of accursed people in whom any image of a God, or
of

of religion is remaining. * He proceeds in the discourse and brings the examples of *Samuel, Isaiah, Elisha, Iojada, Zecharias*, who were Priests and Prophets respectively, and yet imployed in Princes Courts, and Councells of Kings, and addes this, *Vnum noveritis, quia nisi familiares, & Consilarii Regis essent Episcopi, supra dorsum Ecclesia hodiè fabricarent peccatores, & immanitèr, ac intolerabiliter opprimeret Clerum praesumptio Laicalis.* That's most true. If the Church had not the advantage of additionall honorary imployments, *the plowers would plow upon the Churches back, & make long furrowes.*

* The whole Epistle is worth transcribing, But I shall content my selfe with this summary of the advantages which are acquir'd both to policy and Religion by the imployment of Bishops in Princes Courts. *Istis me diantibus mansuescit circa simplices judicarius rigor, admittitur clamor pauperum, Ecclesiarum dignitas erigitur, relevatur pauperum indigentia, firmatur in clero libertas, pax in populis, in Monasteriis quies, justitia liberè exercetur, superbia opprimitur, augetur Laicorum devotio, religio fovetur, diriguntur judicia, &c.* When pious Bishops are imployed in Princes Councells, *then the rigor of Lawes is abated, equity introduced, the cry of the poore is heard, their necessities are made known, the liberties of the Church are conserved, the peace of Kingdomes labour'd for, pride is depressed, religion increaseth, the devotion of the Laity multiplies, and tribunalls are made just, and incorrupt, and mercifull.* Thus farre *Petrus Blesensis.* * These are the effects which

which though perhaps they doe not alwaies fall out, yet these things may in expectation of reason be look'd for from the Clergy, their principles and calling promises all this, & *quia in Ecclesia magis lex est, ubi Dominus legis timetur, melius dicit apud Dei Ministros agere causam. Facilius enim Dei timore sententiam legis veram promunt;* (saith S. Ambrose,) and therefore certainly the fairest reason in the world that they be employed. But if personall defaillance be thought reasonable to disemploy the whole calling, then neither Clergy nor Laity should ever serve a Prince.

In 1. Corinth. 6.

And now we are easily driven into an understanding of that saying of S. Paul [*No man that warreth entangleth himselfe with the affaires of this life.*] For although this be spoken of all Christian people, and concernes the Laity in their proportion as much as the Clergy, yet nor one, nor the other is interdicted any thing that is not a direct hindrance to their owne precise duty of Christianity. And such things must be par'd away from the fringes of the Laity, as well as the long robe of the Clergy. But if we should consider how little we have now left for the employment of a *Bishop*, I am afraid a *Bishop* would scarce seem to be a necessary function, so farre would it be from being hindered by the collaterall intervening of a Lay-judicature. I need not instance in any particulars; for if the judging matters and questions of religion be not left aloneto them, they may well be put into a tem-

2. Timoth. 2. 4.

porall imployment, to preserve them from suspition of doing nothing.

I have now done with this, only intreating this to be considered. Is not the King *sons utriusq; jurisdictionis*? In all the senses of Common-law, and externall compulsory he is. But if so, then why may not the King as well make *Clergy-Judges*, as *Lay-Delegates*? For (to be sure) if there be an incapacity in the Clergy of meddling with secular affaires, there is the same at least in the Laity of meddling with Church affaires. For if the Clergy be above the affaires of the World, then the Laity are under the affaires of the Church; or else, if the Clergy be incapable of Lay-businesse, because it is of a different and disparate nature from the Church, does not the same argument exclude the Laity from intervening in Church affaires? For the Church differs no more from the common-wealth, then the common-wealth differs from the Church. And now after all this, suppose a King should command a *Bishop* to goe on Embassy to a forraine Prince, to be a *Commissioner in a treaty of pacification*, if the *Bishop* refuse, did he doe the duty of a Subject? If yea, I wonder what subjection that is which a *Bishop* owes to his Prince, when hee shall not be bound to obey him in any thing but the saying, and doing of his office, to which he is obliged, whether the Prince commands him yea or no. But if no, then the *Bishop* was tyed to goe, and then the calling makes him no way incapable of such imployment, for no man can be bound to doe a sinne.

But

But then did not this employment, when the occasions were great, and extraordinary, force the *Bishops* to a temporary absence? And what remedy was there for that? For the Church is not to be left destitute, that's agreed on by all the *Canons*. They must not be like the *Sicilian Bishops* whom *Petrus Blesensis* complains of, that attended the Court, and never visited their Churches, or took care either of the cure of soules, or of the Church possessions. What then must be done? The *Bishops* in such cases may give delegation of their power, and offices to others, though now adaies they are complain'd of for their care. I say, for their care; For if they may intervene in secular affaires, they may sometimes be absent, and then they must delegate their power, or leave the Church without a Curate. *** But for this matter the account need not be long. For since I have proved that the whole Diocese is *in curâ Episcopali*, and for all of it, he is responsive to God Almighty, and yet, that instant necessity and the publike act of Christendome hath ratified it, that *Bishops* have delegated to *Presbyters* so many parts of the *Bishops* charge as there are parishes in his Diocese, the *curia* which is pretended for delegation of Episcopall charge, is no lesse then the act of all Christendome. For it is evident at first, *Presbyters* had no distinct cure at all, but were in common assistant to the *Bishop*, and were his emissaries for the gaining soules in City, or Suburbs; But when the *Bishops* divided parishes, and fixt the

§. 50.
And therefore were inforced to delegate their power and put others in substitution,

Presbyters upon a cure, so many Parishes as they distinguished, so many delegations they made; And these we all believe to be good both in law, and conscience. For the *Bishop per omnes divinos ordines propria hierarchia exerceat mysteria* (saith S. Denis,) he does not doe the offices of his order by himselfe onely, but by others also, for all the inferior orders doe so operate, as by them he does his proper offices.

* But besides this grand act of the *Bishops* first, and then of all Christendome in consent, we have faire precedent in S. Paul; for he made delegation of a power to the Church of *Corinth* to excommunicate the incestuous person. It was a plain delegation; for he commanded them to doe it, and gave them his own spirit, that is, his own authority; and indeed without it, I scarce find how the delinquent should have been delivered over to Satan in the sense of the *Apostolick* Church; that is, to be buffeted, for that was a miraculous appendix of power *Apostolick*.

* When S. Paul sent for *Timothy* from *Ephesus*, he sent *Tychicus* to be his *Vicar*. [*Doethy diligences to come unto me shortly, for Demas hath forsaken me &c. And Tychicus have I sent to Ephesus*] Here was an expresse delegation of the power of jurisdiction to *Tychicus*, who for the time was *Curate* to S. Timothy. *Epaphroditus* for a while attended on S. Paul, although he was then *Bishop* of *Philippi*, and either S. Paul, or *Epaphroditus* appointed one in substitution, or the Church was relinquished, for

2. Timoth. 4.
v. 9. & 12.

Philip. 2. v.
25. 26.

for he was most certainly non-resident.

* Thus also we find that S. Ignatius did delegate his power to the Presbyters in his voyage to his Martyrdom. *Presbyteri pascite gregem qui in ter vos est; donec Dominus designaverit eum qui principatum in vobis habiturus est.* To Presbyters doe you feed the flock till God shall designe you a Bishop. Till then. Therefore it was but a delegate power, it could not else have expired in the presence of a Superiour. * To this purpose is that of the Laodicean Councell. *Non oportet Presbyteros ante ingressum Episcopi ingredi, & sedere in tribunalibus, nisi forte aut aegrotet Episcopus, aut in peregrina eum esse constiterit.* Presbyters must not sit in Consistory without the Bishop, unless the Bishop be sick, or absent. So that it seemes what the Bishop does when he is in his Church, that may be committed to others in his absence. And to this purpose S. Cyprian sent a playne commission to his Presbyters. *Fretus ergo dilectione & religione vestra his literis hortor, & Mando ut vos VICE MEA FUNGAMINI circa gerenda ea qua administratio religiosa deposcit.* Fin- treat and command you, that you doe my office in the administration of the affaires of the Church; and another time he put *Herculanus*, and *Caldonius*, two of his Suffragans, together with *Rogatus*, and *Numidicus*, two Priests, in substitution for the excommunicating *Felicissimus* and fower more. [Cum ego vos pro me VICARIOS miserim.] So it was just in the case of *Hierocles* Bishop of *Alexandria* and *Melitus* his Surrogate in *Epiphanius*. *Videbatur*

Epist. ad
Antioch.

Can. 56.

Epist. 9.

Epist. 38.
& 39.

heres. 68.

autem & Melitius preminere &c: ut qui secundum locum habebat post Petrum in Archiepiscopatu, velut adjuvandi ejus gratia sub ipso existens, & sub ipso Ecclesiastica curans. He did Church offices under, and for Hieracles; And I could never find any Canon or personall declamatory clause in any Councell, or Primitive Father against a Bishop's giving more or lesse of his jurisdiction by way of delegation.

* Hitherto also may be referr'd, that when the goods of all the Church which then were of a perplexed and busie dispensation, were all in the Bishops hand as part of the Episcopall function, yet that part of the Bishops office, the Bishop by order of the Councell of Chalcedon might delegate to a steward; provided he were a Clergy-man; and upon this intimation and decree of Chalcedon the Fathers in the Councell of Seville forbid any lay-men to be stewards for the Church, *Elegimus ut unusquisque nostrum secundum Chalcedonensium Patrum decreta ex proprio Clero Oeconum sibi constituat.* But the reason extends the Canon further. *Indecorum est enim laicum VICARIUM esse Episcopi, & Saculares in Ecclesia judicare.* VICARS OF BISHOPS the Canon allowes, onely forbids lay-men to be Vicars. *In uno enim eodemq; officio non decet dispar professio, quod etiam in divina lege prohibetur, &c: In one and the same office the law of God forbids to joyn men of disparate capacities.* This then would be considered. For the Canon pretends Scripture, Precepts of Fathers, and Tradition of antiquity for it's Sanction.

Concil. Hispan.
cap. 6.

* For

* FOR although antiquity approves of Episcopall delegations of their power to their Vicars, yet these Vicars and delegates must be Priests at least. *Melitus* was a Bishop, and yet the Chancellor of *Hierocles* Patriarch of *Alexandria*, So were *Herculanus*, and *Caldanus* to *S. Cyprian*. But they never delegated to any lay-man any part of their Episcopall power precisely. Of their lay-power or the cognisance of secular causes of the people, I find one delegation made to some Gentlemen of the Laity, by *Sylvanus* Bishop of *Troas*, when his Clerks grew coverous, he cur'd their itch of gold, by trusting men of another profession so to shame them into justice, and contempt of money. * *Si quis autem Episcopus posthac Ecclesiasticam rem aut LAICALI PROCURATIONE administrandam elegerit non solum a Christo derebus Pauperum iudicatur reus, sed etiam & Concilio manebit obnoxius.* If any Bishop shall hereafter concredit any Church affairs to LAY ADMINISTRATION, he shall be responsive to Christ, and in danger of the Councell. But the thing was of more ancient constitution. For in that Epistle which goes under the Name of *S. Clement*, which is most certainly very ancient whoever was the author of it, it is decreed, *Si qui ex Fratribus negotia habent inter se apud cognitores saculi non iudicentur, sed apud Presbyteros Ecclesia quicquid illud est dirimatur.* If Christian people have causes of difference and judicall contestation, let it be ended before the PRIESTS. For so *S. Clement* expounds

9. 31.

But they were ever Clergymen, for there never was a ny lay Elders in any Church of fice heard of in the Church. *Sacrat. lib. 7. cap. 37.*

Concil. Hispan. ubi supra.

Epist. ad Iacob. Frat. Dom.

[Presby-

de 7. Ordin.
Eccles.

[*Presbyteros*] in the same Epistle, reckoning it as a part of the sacred Hierarchy. * To this or some paralell constitution *S. Hierome* relates, saying that [*Priests from the beginning were appointed judges of causes*]. He expounds his meaning to be of such *Priests* as were also *Bishops*, and they were *Judges ab initio, from the beginning* (saith *S. Hierom*). So that this saying of the Father may no way prejudice the *Bishops* authority, but it excludes the assistance of lay-men from their *Consistories*. *Presbyter*, and *Episcopus* was instead of one word to *S. Hierom*, but they are alwaies Clergy, with him and all men else.

Epist. 13. ad
Valent.

* But for the mayne Question, *S. Ambrose* did represent it to *Valentinian* the Emperour with confidence, and humility, *In causa fidei, vel Ecclesiastici alicujus ordinis eum judicare debere, qui nec Munere impar sit, nec jure dissimilis*. The whole Epistle is admirable to this purpose, *Sacerdotes de Sacerdotibus judicare, that Clergy-men must onely judge of Clergy-causes*; and this *S. Ambrose* there call's *judicium Episcopale*. The *Bishops* judicature. *Si tractandum est, tractare in Ecclesia didici, quod Majores fecerunt mei. Si conferendum de fide, Sacerdotum debet esse ista collatio, sicut factum est sub Constantino Aug. memoria Principe*. So that, both matters of Faith and of Ecclesiasticall Order are to be handled in the Church, and that by *Bishops*, and that sub *Imperatore*, by permission and authority of the Prince. For so it was in *Nice*, under *Constantine*. Thus farre *S. Ambrose*.

Epist. ad
Solitar.

* *S. Athanasius* reports that *Hosius* Bishop of *Corduba*,

Corduba, president in the *Nicene Councell*, said, it was the abomination of desolation that a *lay-man* should be judge in *Ecclesiasticus judicijis*, in *Church-causes*; And *Leontius* calls *Church-affayres*, *Res alienas à Laicis*, things of another Court, of a distinct cognisance from the *Laity*. * To these adde the Councell of *Venice*, for it is very considerable in this Question. *Clerico nisi ex permisso Episcopi sui servorum suorum secularia judicia adire non liceat. Sed si fortasse Episcopi sui judicium caperit habere suspectum, aut ipsi de proprietate aliquà adversus ipsum Episcopum fuerit nata contentio, aliorum Episcoporum audientiam, NON SÆCULARIUM POTES. TATUM debet ambire. Aliter à communione habeatur alienus.* *Clergy-men without delegation from their Bishop may not heare the causes of their servants, but the Bishop, unlesse the Bishop be appealed from, then other Bishops must heare the cause, but NO LAY JUDGES by any meanes.*

Suidas in vita Leontij.

Can. 9. A. D. 453.

* These Sanctions of holy Church it pleased the Emperour to ratifie by an Imperiall edict, for so *Justinian* commanded that in causes Ecclesiasticall, *Secular Judges* should have no interest, *SED SANCTISSIMUS EPISCOPUS SECUNDUM SACRAS REGULAS CAUSÆ FINEM IMPONAT.* The Bishop according to the Sacred Canons must be the sole judge of Church-matters. I end this with the decretall of *S. Gregory* one of the fower Doctours of the Church. *Carendum est à Fraternitate vestrà, ne secularibus viris, atq; non sub regulà nostrà degentibus res Ecclesiastica committantur.* Heed must be taken that

Novell. con. sit. 123.

lib. 7. capit. 66.

matters Ecclesiasticall be not any waies concredited to secular persons. But of this I have twice spoken already. §. 36. and §. 41.

The thing is so evident, that it is next to impudence to say that in Antiquity *Lay-men* were parties and assessors in the Consistory of the Church. It was against their faith, it was against their practice; and those few pigmy objections, out of * *Tertullian*, *S. Ambrose*, and *S. Austin* using the word *Seniores*, or *Elders*, sometimes for *Priests*, as being the latine for the Greeke *πρεσβυτεροι*; sometimes for a secular Magistrate, or Alderman, (for I thinke *S. Austin* did so in his third booke against *Crescensius*) are but like Sophoms to prove that two and two are not foure; for to pretend such slight, aëry imaginations, against the constant, knowne, open, Catholike practice and doctrine of the Church, and history of all ages, is as if a man should goe to fright an Imperiall army with a single bulrush. They are not worth further considering.

* But this is; That in this Question of *lay-Elders* the Moderne *Aerians* and *Acephali* doe wholly mistake their own advantages. For whatsoever they object out of antiquity for the white, and watry colours of lay-Elders is either a very misprision of their allegations, or else clearly abused in the use of them. For now adayes they are only us'd to exclude and drive forth *Episcopacy*, but then they misallege antiquity, for the men with whose Heifers they would faine plough in this Question were themselves *Bishops* for the most part, and he that

was

* *Tertull.*

Apol. c. 33. S.

Ambros. in. 1.

Tim. 5. 1. &

lib. 1. de offic.

c. 20. S. Au-

gust. lib. 3.

contra Cres-

cen. & Epist.

137.

was not, would faine have beene, it is knowne so of *Tertullian*, and therefore most certainly if they had spoken of *Lay-Iudges* in Church matters (which they never dream'd of) yet meant them not so as to exclude *Episcopacy*, and if not, then the pretended allegations can doe no service in the present Question.

I am only to cleare this pretence from a place of Scripture totally misunderstood, and then it cannot have any colour from any *authorities*, either divine, or humane, but that *Lay-Iudges* of causes Ecclesiasticall as they are unheard of in antiquity, so they are neither nam'd in Scripture, nor receive from thence any instructions for their deportment in their imaginary office, and therefore may be remanded to the place from whence they came, even the lake of *Gebenna*, and so to the place of the neereft denomination. The objection is from *S. Paul*, *1. Tim. 5. 17.* *Let the Elders that rule well, be accounted worthy of double honour, especially they that labour in the word & doctrine. especially they*— therefore all Elders doe not so. Here are two sorts of Elders, Preaching Ministers, and Elders not Preachers. Therefore *Lay-Elders*, and yet all are governours.

1. But why therefore *Lay-Elders*? Why may there not be diverse Church-officers, and yet but one, or two of them the Preacher? [*Christ sent me not to Baptize but to Preach*] saith *S. Paul*, and yet the commission of [*baptize*] was as large as [*pradicate*] and why then might not another say,

Christ sent me not to *Preach*, but to *Baptize*, that is, in *S. Pauls* sense, not so much to doe one, as to doe the other, and if he left the ordinary ministrations of Baptisme, and betook himselfe to the ordinary office of Preaching, then to be sure, some Minister must be the ordinary Baptizer, and so, not the Preacher, for if he might be both ordinarily, why was not *S. Paul* both? For though their power was common to all of the same order, yet the execution and dispensation of the Ministeries was according to severall gifts, and that of Prophecy, or Preaching was not dispensed to all in so considerable a measure, but that some of them might be destin'd to the ordinary execution of other offices, and yet because the gift of Prophecy was the greatest, so also was the office, and therefore the sense of the words is this, *that all Presbyters must be honour'd, but especially they that Prophecy, doing that office with an ordinary execution and ministry.* So no Lay-Elders yet. Add to this, that it is also plain that all the Clergy did not Preach. *Valerius Bishop of Hippo* could not well skill in the Latine tongue being a Greek borne, and yet a Godly Bishop, and *S. Austin* his Presbyter preach'd for him. The same case might occur in the *Apostles* times. For then was a concurse of all Nations to the Christian Synaxes, especially in all great Imperiall Citties, and Metropolitans, as *Rome, Antioch, Ierusalem, Casarea*, and the like. Now all could not speak with tongues, neither could all Prophecy, they were particular gifts given severally, to severall men appointed

pointed to minister in Church-offices. Some Prophecyed, some interpreted; and therefore is is an ignorant fancy to think that he must needs be a Laick, whosoever in the ages *Apostolicall* was not a Preacher.

2. None of the Fathers ever expounded this place of *Lay-Elders*, so that we have a traditive interpretation of it in prejudice to the pretence of our new office.

3. The word *Presbyter* is never used in the new Testament for a *Lay-man*, if a Church officer be intended. If it be said, it is used so here, that's the question, and must not be brought to prove it selfe.

4. The *Presbyter* that is here spoken of must be maintain'd by Ecclesiasticall revenue, for so *S. Paul* expounds [*honour*] in the next verse. *Presbyters that rule well must be honoured &c. For it is written, thou shalt not muzzle the mouth of the Oxe that treadeth out the corne.* But now, the Patrons of this new devise are not so greedy of their *Lay-Bishops* as to be at charges with them, they will rather let them stand alone on their own rotten leggs, and so perish, then fixe him upon this place with their hands in their purses. But it had been most fitting for them to have kept him, being he is of their own begetting.

5. This place speaks not of divers persons, but divers parts of the Pastorall office, *οὐκ ἔστιν ἑνός*, and *οὐκ ἔστιν ἑνός*. To rule, and to labour in the word. Iust as if the expression had been *in materia politica*. All good Counsellors of State are worthy of double

ble honour, especially them that disregarding their own private, aime at the publike good. This implies not two sorts of Counsellors, but two parts of a Counsellors worth, and quality. Iudges that doe righteousnesse are worthy of double honour, especially if they right the cause of Orphans, and Widowes, and yet there are no righteous judges that refuse to doe both.

6. All Ministers of H. Church did not preach, at least not frequently. The seven that were *ἐπὶ τὰς χήρας τεταγμένοι*, set over the Widdowes were Presbyters, but yet they were forced to leave the constant ministration of the word to attend that employment, as I shewed * formerly; and thus it was in descent too, for *ἡ ἐκκλησία ἐν Ἀλεξανδρίᾳ, ἡ ἐκκλησία*, (said Socrates) *A Presbyter does not Preach in Alexandria, the Bishop only did it.* And then the allegation is easily understood. For labouring in the word does not signify, only making Homilies or exhortations to the people, but whether it be by word, or writing, or travelling from place to place, still, the greater the sedulity of the person is, and difficulty of the labour, the greater increment of honour is to be given him. So that here is no Lay-Elders; for all the Presbyters S. Paul speaks of, are to be honoured, but especially those who take extraordinary pains in propagating the Gospell. For though all preach, (suppose that) yet all doe not *κομᾶν*, take such great pains in it, as is intimated in, *κομῶντες*. For *κομᾶν* is to take bodily labour, and travail, *ἀσκήσας, ad lassitudinem*, (so Budam renders it.) And

And so it is likely *S. Paul* here means. Honour the good Presbyters, but especially them that travell for disseminating the Gospell. And the word is often so used in Scripture. *S. Paul*, ἀλλὰ περισσεύοντες τὸν λόγον. I have travelled in the word more then they all. Not that *S. Paul* preached more then all the Apostles, for most certainly, they made it their businessse as well as he. But he travelled further and more then they all for the spreading it. And thus it is said of the good Woman that travelled with the Apostles, for supply of the necessities of their diet and household offices, [*they laboured much in the Lord.*] *ἡ δὲ* is the word for them too. So it is said of *Peris*, of *Mary*, of *Tryphena*, of *Triphosa*. And since these women were *κοινωνοὶ ἐν Κόλῳ*, that travelled with the Apostolicall men and Evangelists, the men also travelled to, and preach'd, and therefore were *κοινωνοὶ ἐν λόγῳ*, that is *travellers in the word*. [*We ought therefore to receive such*] (saith *S. Iohn*) intimating a particular reception of them, as being towards us of a peculiar merit. So that the sense of *S. Paul* may be this also, All the Rulers of the Church, that is, all *Bishops*, *Apostles*, and *Apostolick men*, are to be honoured, but especially them who, besides the former ruling, are also *travellers in the word, or Evangelists*. Rom. 16.
1. Epist. cap. 3.

7. We are furnished with answer enough to infatuate this pretence for *Lay-Elders*, from the common draught of the new discipline. For they have some that *Preach only*, and some that *Rule*, and *Preach too*, and yet neither of them the *Lay-Elder*, viz. their *Pastors*, and *Doctors*. 8.

8. Since it is pretended by themselves in the Question of Episcopacy, that Presbyter, and Episcopus is all one, and this very thing confidently obtruded in defiance of Episcopacy, why may not *Presbyteri* in this place signify [*Bishops!*] And then either this must be *Lay-Bishops* as well as *Lay-Presbyters* or else this place is to none of their purposes.

9. If both these offices of RULING and PREACHING may be conjunct in one person, then there is no necessity of distinguishing the Officers by the severall employments, since one man may doe both. But if these offices cannot be conjunct, then no *Bishops* must preach, nor no preachers be of the Consistory (take which government you list) for if they be, then the offices being united in one person, the inference of the distinct officer, the *Lay-Elder*, is impertinent. For the meaning of *S. Paul* would be nothing but this. All Church-Rulers must be honour'd, Especially for their preaching. For if the offices may be united in one person (as it is evident they may) then this may be comprehended within the other, and only be a vitall part and of peculiar excellency. And indeed so it is, according to the exposition of *S. Chrysostome*, and *Primasius*, *ἐν τῷ δὲ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ ἀποστόλου μνησθέντι ἐκείνου ὅτι ἡ ἀποστολικὴ ἀνδριανία ἵκεται. They rule well, that spare nothing for the care of the flock.* So that this is the generall charge, and preaching is the particular. For the work in generall they are to receive double honour, but this of preaching, as then preaching was, had a parti-

particular excellency, and a plastick power to forme men into Christianity, especially it being then attested with miracles.

But the new office of a *Lay-Elder*, I confesse I cannot comprehend in any reasonable proportion, his person, his quality, his office, his authority, his subordination, his commission hath made so many divisions and new emergent Questions: and they, none of them all asserted either by Scripture or Antiquity, that if I had a mind to leave the way of God and of the Catholick Church, and runne in pursuit of this meteor, I might quickly be amused, but should find nothing certain but a certainty of being misguided. Therefore if not for conscience sake, yet for prudence, *bonum est esse hic*, it is good to remaine in the fold of Christ, under the guard, and supravision of those sheapheards Christ hath appointed, and which his sheep have alwaies followed.

For I consider this one thing to be enough to determine the Question. [*My sheep* (saith our blessed Saviour) *beare my voice, if a stranger, or a thiefe come, him they will not heare*] Clearly thus. That Christ's sheep heare not the voice of a stranger, nor will they follow him, and therefore those sheapheards whom the Church hath followed in all ages, are no strangers, but Sheapheards or Pastors of Christs appointing, or else Christ hath had no sheep; for if he hath, then Bishops are the sheapheards, for them they have ever followed. I end with that golden rule of *Vincentius Lirinensis*, Mag-

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Cap. 14.

noperè curandum est ut id teneamus, quod ubiq^{ue}, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est. Hoc est enim verè, proprièq^{ue}, Catholicum. For certainly the Catholick belief of the Church against Arius, Eunomius, Macedonius, Apollinaris, and (the worst of hereticks) the Cataphrygians was never more truly received of all, and alwaies, and every wherethen is the government of the Church by Bishops. Annunciare ergo Christianis Catholicis præter id quod acceperunt, nunquam licuit, nunquam licet, nunquam licebit. It never was, is, nor ever shall be lawfull to teach (christian people any new thing then what they have received from a primitive fountain, and is descended in the stream of Catholick, uninterrupted succession.

* I onely adde, that the Church hath insinuated it to be the duty of all good Catholike Christians to pray for Bishops, and as the case now stands, for Episcopacy it selfe, for there was never any Church-Liturgy but said Letanyes for their KING, and for their
B I S H O P.

Ἄγιος ὁ Θεός.

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A SIGNE FROM HEAVEN: 2

OR, A

Fearefull and Terrible

Noise heard in the Ayre at *Alborow*
in the Countrey of *Suffolke*, on Thursday
the 4. day of *August* at 5. of the clocke in
the Afternoone.

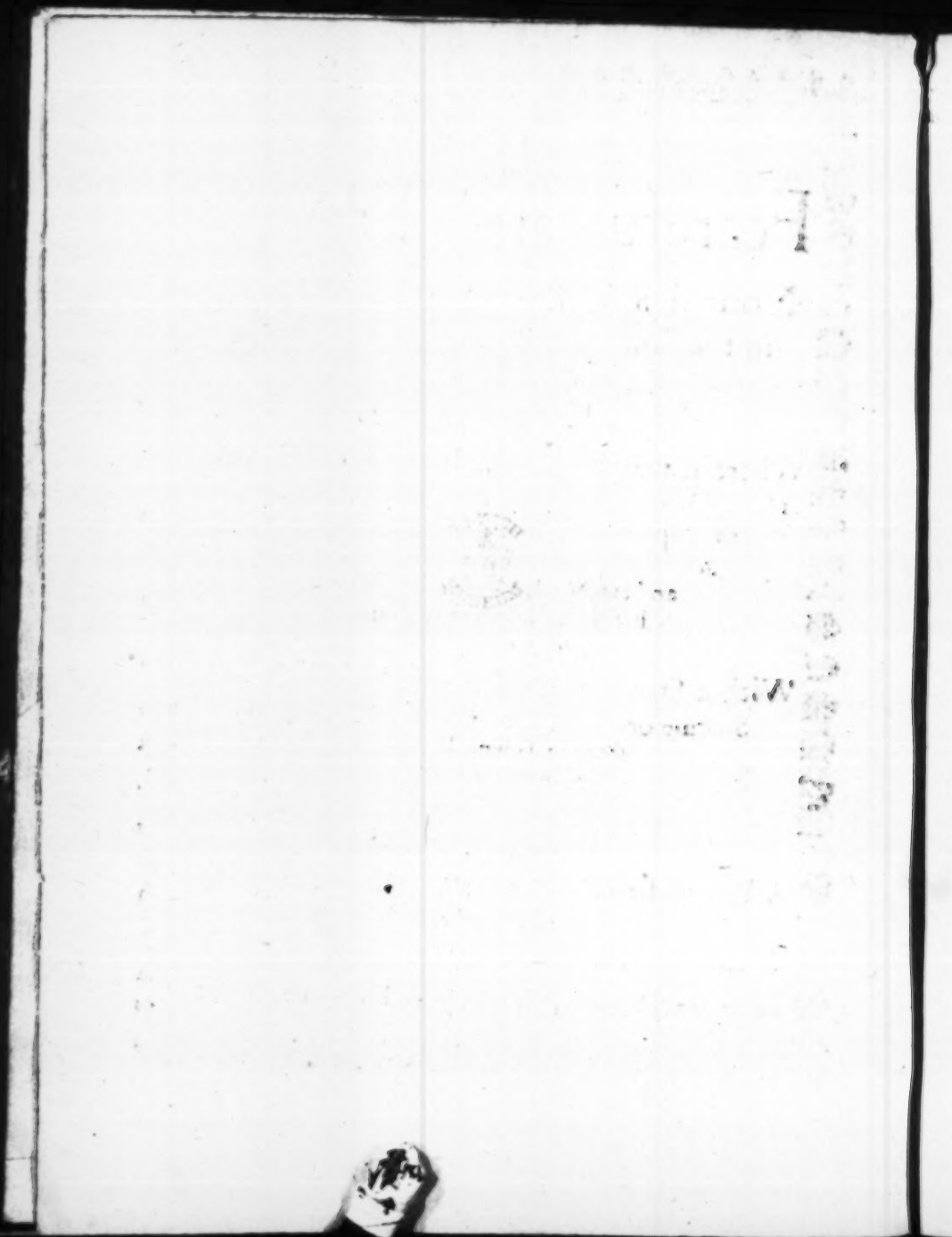
Wherein was heard the beating of Drums,
the discharging of Muskets and great Ordnance
for the space of an houre and more, as will be
attested by many men of good worth,
and exhibited to some chiefe Mem-
bers of the honourable House
of Commons.

With a Stone that fell from the Sky in that
Storme or Noise rather, which is here to be
seene in Towne, being of a
great weight.

Wherunto is annexed,

A Prophecie of MERLINS, concerning *Hull*
in *Yorkshire*.

Aug. 12. London Printed by T. FAVVCEY, 1642.





True and strange Newes out of
SUFFOLKE.



It was truly foretold long
since by who was and is
Truth it selfe, even our
blessed Lord and Redee-
mer, *Luke 21.* that in the
latter dayes there shall be
warres and seditions, and
Earthquakes in divers pla-
ces, with Famines and Pe-
stilences, and fearefull things, and great *Signes*
from Heaven. The greatest part of which heavenly
prediction how punctually we have seene fulfilled
amongst our selves, even within the memory of
man, is not unknowne to any rationall observer
that considereth the state of the times. God hath
been pleased of late yeeres since that devillish fire
of the warres in *Bohemia* was kindled by the Jesu-
ites, to the disturbance of that flourishing Empire
of *Germany*, to fore-shew by divers signes and to-
kens in the Ayre, the troubles that were then ap-
proaching

proaching, giving thereby warning to his chosen people to prepare to meet him by unfeigned repentance, that so they may bee hid in the day of the Lords wrath, and not involved in the common destruction: What fiery impressions were seene in the ayre in sundry places of *Germany*, both before the battell of *Prague*, and about the time of the coming in of the most victorious King of *Sweden*, towards the battels of *Leipsich* and *Noralingen*, and upon sundry other occasions, he that will may read in the *Chronicles* of that Nation: And if men duly consider what strange alterations followed those heavenly admonitions, it will be no difficult thing to fore-see what our selves at whose doore the staffe now standeth may expect in this Kingdome. I instance in a strange, but very true Relation of what very lately happened betwixt the two Townes of *Woodbridge* and *Albion* in *High Suffolke*, as it hath been made manifest to some of the Members of the Honourable House of Commons, and is attested already by divers people of good worth, who were eare witnesses and eye-witnesses of the same, and will be further attested by the whole Corporation of *Albion*: And thus it was:

Upon Thursday the 4. day of this instant *August*, about the houre of foure or five a clocke in the afternoone, there was a wonderfull noyse heard in the ayre, as of a Drum beating most fiercely, which after a while was seconded with a long peale of small Shot, and after that a discharging as it were of great Ordnance in a pitch field: This continued

(3)

ed with some vicissitudes of small shot and great Ordnance for the space of one houre and an halfe, and then making a mighty and violent report altogether; at the ceasing thereof there was observed to fall down out of the skie a Stone of about foure pounds weight, which was taken up by them who saw it fall, and being both strange for the forme of it, and somewhat miraculous for the manner of it, was by the same parties who are ready to attest this Truth, brought up and shewed to a worthy Member of the House of Commons, upon whose ground it was taken up, and by him to divers friends, who have both seen and handled the same. Now the manner of finding of this stone was on this wise: One Captaine *Johnson*, and one Master *Thompson*, men well knowne in that part of *Sussex* were that day at *Woodbridge* about the launching of a Ship that was newly builded there, who hearing this marvellous noise towards *Alborow*, verily supposed that some Enemy was landed, and some sudden onset made upon the Towne of *Alborow*; This occasioned them to take Horse and hasten homewards, the rather because they heard the noise of the Battell grow louder. And being at that instant when that greatest cracke and report was made in conclusion, on their way upon an Heath betwixt the two Townes, *Woodbridge* and *Alborow*, they observed the fall of this stone, which grazing in the fall of it along upon the Heath, some 6. or 7. yards, had out-run their observation where it rested, had not a Dog which was in their company followed it by the scent as

was:

was hot, and brought them where it lay covered over with grass: and eith that the violence of its course had contracted about it. This is the true Relation of the finding of this stone, which is 8. inches long, and 5. inches broad, and 2. inches thick. And now being on their way neerer *Alborew* they met the greatest part of their Townesfolke, who were generally all run out of their houses round about amazed with this noise of Warre, and descrying no Enemy neere; when suddenly there was heard a joyfull noise as of Musicke, and sundry Instruments in a melodious manner, for a good space together, which ended as with an harmonious ringing of Bells. This is the true relation of this most strange signe from Heaven. The Lord God of Heaven and Earth who steeres the course of all humane affaires, have mercy upon this sinfull Land and Nation, and in the midst of these distractions which now are both in our Church and State, open our eyes to see, and our hearts to consider this gracious day of our Visitation, and give us grace to meet him by a true and unfained repentance, that under the shadow of his wings may be our refuge untill these stormes be overpast.

Martin

**MERLINS Propheſie of Kingſtone
upon Hull.**

LOVVMAN, LOVVNAM, thou mayſt well rejoyce,
So ſoone to be changed as thou ſhalt be;
From a Sheepe-cotes name the game goes
Unto a goodly Towne as men ſhall ſee.
Thy name ſhall be called to high Degree
And come a *Kings-towne*, ſo ſhall be thy Name;
Upon *Hull* water ſet ſhalt thou bee:
Yet take heed to thy ſelfe for feare of blame.
But now poore *Myton*, thou ſandeſt well
Upon *Humber* banke, but what is thy end;
Lye even in *Humber* ſo thou ſhalt every dell,
Thou canſt in no wiſe thy ſelfe from it defend.
Kingſton upon *Hull*, *Lowman* was thy Name,
A walled Towne thou art, ſo long as thou ſhalt ſtand;
By reaſon of Shipping thou art in good fame,
But woe to thy end, for *MERLIN* ſaith the ſame.
Thy Walls & towres with Pinales, ſo high in thy time
Of troubles, they ſhall not thee defend:
Nor Forts to be made, this doe I well finde;
For thy Pride and miſchiefe God will thee ſorrow ſend.
What availeth thee, thy walls repugning againſt God,
God know'th from thy beginning, what thou ſhalt be,
If yet thou haſt bin *Lowman* and uſed thy Trade,
Thou ſhouldeſt have ſtood ſtill without Walls ſurely.
Now it is pleaſure for thee to behold,
Thy Shippes from beyond the Seas,

Yet

(6)

Yet hadst thou been better to have been a sheepfold,
As was thy beginning, as *Merlin* doth prophetic;
For he saith surely, thou shalt be fore beat;
And even with the ground thou shalt be laid plaine,
The day, time, and houre, God hath thee set,
That in thee shall be left no man to remaine.
By the Lilly thou shalt be fore beat,
For *Humber* with shippes shall be all full,
And by the same Lilly thou shalt be so wounded,
And then blame the time that thou wast call'd *Hull*;
And yet the Ships of the Lilly shall still yours remain
And stand in *Humber* the truth for to say,
The cause of warres is oft times sodaine,
When they were to go home they must needs stay.
Their Mariners shall want that brought the from home
And few be left alive of the men of warre,
Their Souldiers and Captaines shall be all gone
Which they brought with them from Countries far;
Thou *Hull* and thy Enemies shall dye together;
For *Urta* of *Seladowne*, and *Wallis* also,
Doth speake the same Prophecie all together,
With *Bede*, and *Beil*, and *Merlin*, with other moe.


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WELLS

I N

Somerſet-Shire.

Wherein is declared how the Cavaliers were beaten out of the ſaid Town, by thoſe Heroick Gentlemen and Members of the *Parliament*.

The names of the Members of the Parl. are theſe.

Sir Francis Popham.
Sir Iohn Horner.
M. Richard Cole.
M. Strowd.
M. Pine.
Sir Edward Hungerford.
Sir Edward Gainton.

The names of the chiefe Cavaliers are theſe.

Marqueſſe of Hartford.
Lord Paulet.
Sir Ralph Hopton.
Sir Francis Dorrington.
Maſter Smith.

Likewiſe a true relation how they came to *Briſtow*, with an intent to have fortified themſelves, but were oppoſed by the wel-affected party of the City.

With a relation of the taking of Northampton by the Cavaliers, on Tueſday, the ninth of Auguſt, 1642.

Whereunto is annexed the *Parliaments* Reſolution concerning the ſaid Cavaliers.

Ordered that this be printed and publiſhed.

Joh. Browne, Cler. Parl.

L O N D O N,

Printed for Henry Fowler. Aug. 12. 1642.

JOYFUL NEWS FROM

WELLS

Journalist

WELLS is declared to be the

author of the book of the

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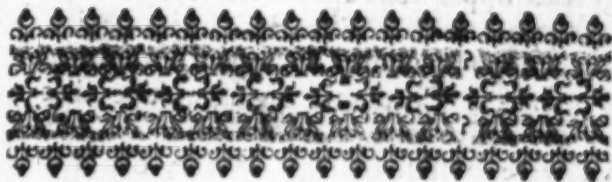
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Foyfull Newes

FROM

W E L L S

IN

Somerſet-ſhire.



Aving arrived at my journey's end, to *Taunton-Deane*, under the command of Lieutenant *Howard*, with whom I am entertained Trumpeter to a Troop of Horſe, the next day I intended (my duty binding me thereunto) to take my Horſe and ride to *Wells*, to my Fathers: To which end I went to my Captaine, and told him my intent, withall deſiring his licence for foure dayes; who told me that he would goe along with me to *Wells*, for it was in great diſtreſſe, the Cavaliers having made it their randevouz, and uſed ſeveral

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rigorous oppressions against those that did any way oppose them. Wherefore he immediately caused me to sound my Trumpet through *Taunton-Deane*; a Corporall giving notice that it was his desire that all Gentlemen or others that were posselt of any Horse, or Horse-mans Armes, should instantly put themselves into a Posture of Defence, and repaire to him.

Which was speedily effected; for within three houres there were with my Capitaines owne Horses, and those that were sent in, neere an hundred and twenty. Which being put in order by Lieutenant *Howard*, we immediately marched towards *Wells*, where being arrived, wee found the Countrey all in Aimes, and their Towne besieged on every side. On the hill comming off *Mendip* from *Bristow*-ward, there was Sir *Francis Popham*, and Sir *Edward Hungerford*, with sixe thousand armed men, and two Peeces of Ordnance, which were mounted against the Bishops Palace.

Betweene *Glastenbury* and *Wells* there was Sir *Edward Gainton*, and Sir *John Horner*, with eight thousand men, or thereabouts.

On the hill on the East side between *Skipton-Mallard* and *Wells*, there was Master *Pine*, Master *Cole*, and Master *Stroud*, with three thousand more, and two Peeces which they had mounted

ted to command any part of the town, where occasion should require.

The sight of our horse gave a little more life to them, they having very few horses, and the Cavaliers having at the least three hundred.

Wherefore Sir *Edward Hungerford* after a courteous welcome, entreated us to make good the passage from *Wells*, on the North-east of the Towne, which goes up to the Downes to meet with *Skipton mallet* Roade, which leads to *Bristow*, which was accordingly performed by us: the Army being in order, Sir *Francis Popham* caused some shots to be made from *Mendip-Hill* against the *Bishops* Pallace, which (by reason of the strength thereof) they had made their Quarters, it being a place of a considerable strength, and moted round about.

Neverthelesse the report of our Ordnance made the Cavaliers bestirre themselves, seeing themselves surrounded by the Country, and knowing the Towne was no place of strength or security either to oppose us, or to secure themselves from us, wherefore they made as if they intended to force a passage towards *Glastenbury*, which caused all our parties of Foot to presse up to secure those passages, which they seeing, with their utmost speed at a passage betweene the wood and us, trooped out upon us, fronting us boldly, which well they might, they being in number much greater, and more ex-

perienced men, both in Horfemanship, and use of Arms, our men being raw, untutored, and unexperienced both in the use of their Armes, and Horfemanship, our Foot likewise being so farre behind, by reason of the mistake, that it was impossible to reach them, besides our Ordnance which was planted on the Hill, lying so high, could not command them, they keeping just under the bottome of the said Hill, being sheltered by the Wood.

Neverthelesse, our Captaine (neither esteeming their number, or weighing the danger that might happen by his attempting to intercept a Party so strong, and pursued by almost inevitable ruine, and perpetuall destruction) gave command that wee should give Fire upon them, which was with unexpected alacrity, and undaunted courage performed: They did the like at us, but such their haste was, that they could not stay to see the execution, nor doe we know whether we did any against them; for it was not policie to pursue them, they having the greater number. Besides, had wee engaged our selves beyond the bounds or succour of our Forces, wee might have been cut off, and they had cause to laugh at our destruction.

The Towne being thus quit of them, wee drew our Forces in, where wee were entertained with great joy; but they made for
Bristow,

Bristow, being confident that they should have gained a party there, but being arrived, they found the City up in Armes, and some in Ambush, who suffered to passe quietly without discovering of themselves: But at their back returne, being pursued by the Commanders of the City, they intercepted them, and gave them a broad side, putting them to a shrewd confusion.

Some Prisoners they have taken, but what they are, is not certaine: onely it is reported that *Marquesse Hartford* and the *Lord Paules* are taken Prisoners: Others say, *Sir Ralph Hopton*, but of this there is no certainty: for those that escaped, they fled to my Lord *Strange*, who lay within ten miles with an Armie, in the Borders of Wales.

This day being the eighth of *August*, wee received severall Votes of both Houses of Parliament, with their Resolution concerning the said Cavaleers, namely, that *Sir Ralph Hopton*, Master *Thomas Smith*, *Sir Ferdinando Gorges*, and *Sir Francis Bodington*, be forthwith sent for as Delinquents.

The Country stands generally for the King and Parliament: You would not imagine how confidently and willingly the Countrey take Armes. Although *Sir Ralph Hopton* be a Gentleman very well beloved in the whole Country, yet so highly are they intended against him
for

for this last action, that from *Evercratch* his owne Tenants and Servants came against him and cry him downe now, more then ever they extolled him when the Knights of the Shire were chosen, my Lo: *Paulet* is hated of all men.

And Mr. *Smith* is pittied, he being seduced by the other great ones, and it is believed that if he could fairely retreate, he would be no longer of that faction.

It is reported for truth, that the City of *Northampton* is taken by the Cavaliers, but by what means I cannot resolve you.

These are the chiefe of our proceedings, I make no question but you heare more then is true, at my next opportunity you shall heare from me, give this inclosed token to my wife.

Ordered that this be printed and published

Iohn Browne, Cler. Parliamentarius.

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A Perfect

RELATION
OF

All the passages and proceedings
of the Marquesse *Hartford*, the Lord *Paulet*,
and the rest of the Cavalleers that
were with them in *Wels*.

With the valiant resolution and
behaviour of the Trained-bands and other
Inhabitants of those parts, for the defence of
themselves, the *King* and *Parliament*.

As also what helpe was sent from *Bristol* to
their ayd; with the manner of the Lords and
Cavalleers running out of the Towne.

And many other things very remarkable.

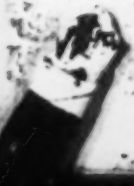
As it was sent in a Letter from the Com-
mittee in *Summersetshire* to both Houses of
PARLIAMENT.

Ordered by the Lords in Parliament, that
this Letter be forthwith printed and pub-
lished.
J. Brown Cler. Parliamentorum.

12. August, 1647.

London, Printed for Ioseph Hunscot, and I Wright.

A. 11. 11. 11.





A
Perfect Relation from the Com-
mittee of *Sommerſetſhire*.

S I R,

HOr want of time to give you a large and perfect relation of all that hath paſt here ſince our meeting at *Shepton-Mallet* upon munday laſt, of which you had by our laſt letters a full relation, I am commanded by the Committee, and Deputy-Lieutenants to ſend you a briefe information, untill the other be perfected; and the rather becauſe of the conveniency of this conveyance by your meſſenger Maſter *Combs*, who hath done you very good ſervice, and adventured himſelfe very far to obſerve the doings and behaviour of Captaine *Digby*, upon whom he hath attended ſome 14 or 16 dayes to his great expence, and hazard of his life. After our meeting upon munday aforeſayd. The Lord Marqueſſe with the other Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen lodged altogether at *Wells*, they laboured to bring in thither all the great Horſes that poſſibly they could procure, and make up amongſt themſelves and their friends, and had gathered together about 500 excellent good Horſes very well armed, and manned with many desperate companions. Upon wedneſday morning the Gentlemen, to wit Sir *Ralph Hopton*, Sir *John Strewell* and the reſt accompanied with all their Horſemen came from *Wells* to *Shepton-Malet*, and rode through the Town up unto a certaine great Hill neere *Shepton* called *Mendoepe*, which being obſerved by the people (who were thereby ſtroken into a great affrightment and terror) they forthwith ſent ſcouts and poſts unto every Gentlemans houſe that lay on that ſide *Mendoepe*, to wit, unto Sir

A

John

John Horner, Master *Alexander Popham* and my selfe most especially, willing us to looke unto our selves, for that these Cavaliers were comming to destroy us, or greatly to mischiese us, and all the good Gentlemen in these parts of the Country, this caused very great stir and cumbustion in the Country, and every man armed and made ready for their comming, But those Gentlemen with their Cavaliers after they had made a bravado a mile or two upon the Hill beyond *Shepton*, returned again to the same Towne where they spent a short time, refreshing themselves at the Innes and Taverns, during which time some of their Cavaliers marching about the Town found out all the honest religious mens houses that were there, those houses they brake into plundered, and robbed, especially of all Armes and Ammunition, and made the owners with their wives and children to forsake their houses, and hide themselves for feare of their lives, and never durst to returne home untill yesterday; But after the Gentlemen had refreshed themselves, and the Cavaliers done their said prances, they departed againe to *Wells*, when they had ordered the billiting of 100 of their Troopers there upon them of *Shepton*; upon this their bold march and bravado Sir *Isab Horner* called many of his Neighbours, and Tenants together and armed them or caused them to be armed, and so marched awy unto Master *Alexander Popham*, to whom resorted presently above 1000 armed men ready to spend their lives for the sayd Gentlemans safety.

From thence upon Friday morning they all marched together unto the place appointed for that dayes meeting, in the Towne of *Chewton*, which Towne lieth about 4 or 5 miles distant from *Wells*, and the great vast *Mendeepe Hills* lying betweene the said Towne and that of *Wells*, and thither came unto us all the Trained Bands of that quarter of the shire, and especially Master *Pophams* Regiment, compleate in number, may doubled twice over by meanes of volunteers, who came best armed and were most ready in the use of their Armes. At this place met some of your Committees, and some of your deputy Lieutenants, to wit, Sir *Edward Hungerford* (who lent Armes of his owne unto 150 or 200 volunteers)

Sir

Sir John Horner, Master Alexander Popham, Master Cole, Master Harbyn, Master Hipsy, and my selfe, and after we had bene upon the place about one or two houres our company was increased to the number of about 40 thousand as wee did conceive, many of these had no more weapons but their swords, yet all came to shew their affections to the King and Parliameont, and to oppose with the hazard of their lives the Lord Marquesse, and his company with their commission of Array, This great company was made up of all the Gentry, & Yeomondry, and lastly youths that inhabited in the north-east part of the County, there came unto us every one of Master Smiths Tennants 40 Yeomen well armed, and all the Inhabitants in that quarter where Sir Ralph Hopton liveth unto his very Gates.

There came also out of those parts of *Wiltshire* neere Sir Edward Hungerfords quarter, about 2 or 3 hundred Horsemen some of them well armed. the rest onely a sword and a pocket Pistoll; there came likewise above 300 lully stout men of very good ranke and quality of the City of *Bristol*, all of them on Horseback with Swords, Pistolls, or Carbines; there came from *Glostershire* a Company of Foote well armed, consisting of 250, or 300 men led by a valiant and expert Captaine; they were not of the Trained Bands, but all volunteers.

These with the rest discovered aboundance of stoutenesse and resolution, wee had likewise two Waynes loaden with Powder, Bullet, and Match and some Armes sent us by the honest good men of *Bristol*, with two Waynes more loaden with foure final field peeces, and their carriages, and two Gunners; although the Major and sheriffes of *Bristol* by the meanes of the Lord *Parlet*, and Master Smith (as we were informed) did hinder and oppose it with all their skill, by one or two of the clocke we had put our Company in order, but with much adoe for want of expert Souldiers and Commanders, which done the Souldiers (although they had neither meate nor drinke) could not be stayed, but would march over the Hill which was neere foure miles, untill they came in sight of *Wells*, and there pitched upon a great Hill in view of the Towne; by this time the day was neere spent and vi-

Atualls we had none nor could we get any upon the suddaine, yet such was the courage and resolution of our Company, that after they had planted their Ordnance, they would not depart that place but lay all that night upon the Hill, fasting and in the cold, and spent the time in prayers and singing of Psalmes, Sir *John Horner*, and Master *Alexander Popkins* with his two valliant Brothers, and Sir *John Horner* youngest sonne, with many other young Gentlemen, Captaines, and others, lay all that night in their Armes upon Fursbushes in the open Fields amidst the Camp, the old Knight often saying that his Furs-Bed was the best that ever he lay upon. It was very much to be admired, that the spirits and resolutions of so great a Company, and men so tenderly bred could be kept up to that hight, as to indure so much hunger and cold. But such was the love and affections of all the County within 6. 8. and 10 miles distance, that by the next morning daylight they sent in such provisions of all sorts in Waynes, Carts, and on Horses, that this great Company had sufficient and to spare both for breakfast, and dinner, and would not take one penny for it, nay many men did carry home againe their provisions, for want of company to eat it.

After our Camp had been victualled, we your Committees and Deputy-Licutenants could scarce prevaile with them, but upon the Towne they would fall, they would destroy the Cavalleers and take the Incendiaries, those Delinquent Gentlemen then with the Marquesse and carry them to the Parliament. Thus farre I have made you a true and perfect relation, the rest of the story (because it concernes the Lord Marquesse *Hartford*, the Lord *Seymore*, and the Lord *Paul* (and its reported an Earle and some Lords more) besides the Gentlemen my neighbours, of which were twelve Knights besides *M. Smith*, *M. Wyndham*, *M. Kirton*, and other Esquires) I shall at this time omit, untill your Committees and Deputy-Licutenants give their consent to that which shall be written; onely I shall tell you that before we removed from *Chewton*, the Lord Marquesse, &c. sent us a Message to stay there, and to finde a way to preserve the peace of the County; in our next
you

you shall receive a copy of that message; for I have it not by me. Our answer was that for want of the rest of our Deputy-Lieutenants and Committees which we expected every houre, we deferred our full answer untill the next day: the next day we sent five propositions unto them, with advise that if they were not yeilded unto very speedily, we should not be able to keep our Souldiers from falling upon them, they desired time for an houre or two to consider of an answer to our propositions, and in the meane time whilst we expected the answer, and our souldiers very impatient with the delay, They, the Lords, Knights, Gentlemen, and Cavallers forsooke the Town and rood all way. In this I have been brieve in regard I have not all the papers by me in which the messages are contained, it gave the souldiers some content to go down into the Town to see the place where these leud Cavalleers their enemies lay. Some of us went down with them to keepe all things in order and quiet (when we could not prevaile nor perswade them to depart without going into the Town) we left all in quiet and doe hope that those which remained there after our departure were not disorderly, unlesse they were provoked by the Cathedral Company.

Upon all this relation, you may cleereely see the condition and stout resolution of our good Country men, how ever heretofore ill thought of. But observe I pray you, this company now appointed to muster at *Cheerton* was the Regiment onely under *M. Popham* called *Bath-regiment*, and some part of *Wells-regiment*, they all dwelt within the compasse of one quarter of our shire, and they were the best and principallest Company from whom *Sir Ralph Hopton*, *Sir Francis Derrington*, and *M. Smith* might expect obedience, and over whom they had the greatest power heretofore. *M. Rogers*, *M. Francis*, *M. Pyne*, nor *M. Strede* did appeare at our muster, nor could bring or send us one man, for as they were coming up unto us with some Gentlemen and good Yeomen of those parts to accompany them, they were met by the way with *Sir J. Stowell* and his two sonnes, and about 120, or 140. of the desperate Cavaleers, by whom some of the honest countrey men were wounded and slaine, and so for want of powder and shot not able

able to resist, they returned home againe, and came not forward unto us. I shall leave this relation to *M. Tye* and *M. Storde* who were eye-witnesses to what was done. But this wounding and killing hath very much daunted the honest countrey-man, yet not to forsake his good resolutions, for I am confident that the Commissioners of Array will never be able to make any of them to fight to maintaine them, or their Commission, for when they were at *Wells* that Friday which we came to *Glewston*, they had got into *Wells* by false meanes and by foule, about 400. of the Trayned-bands and Volunteers, but that Friday at night (as we were credibly informed) they all stole away out of the Towne, and some of them came up the hill unto us upon Saturday morning. But sir, having now done with the relation, the Committee and Deputy-lieutenants do very much feare, that the Lords and the other Commissioners will attempt againe in some other part of the County; and so may doe us extreme mischiefe in case they prevaile any where to raise a regiment of Foote, Wherefore I doe humbly pray you in the behalfe of this county, that without any further losse of time, ten or twenty good Commanders with some ammunition may be speedily sent down unto us, and that my Lord of *Bedford* with three or foure hundred horse would presently come amongst us. And then I am confident you shall finde this County as right as the best; but if you should forget us, and my Lord not speedily to come unto us, we may notwithstanding (after this very good beginning) be yett lost, and we all destroyed by the Cavaliers. Sir, I have been over tedious, and trespassed upon your patience, wherefore pardon I pray you,

Your most humble servant,

Freshford.
7 Aug. 1642.

John Ashe.



The Parliaments

C E N S U R E

O N

Sir RICHARD GURNEY,

Lord Mayor of the Honourable City of

LONDON.

August 12. 1642.

WITH

The Articles of His Impeachment, wherein
He stood charged of many offences, crimes, and
high misdemeanors, committed by the said Sir
Richard Gurney, during the time of his
Majoralty.



L O N D O N :

Printed for John Caves. August 13. 1642.

The Parliament

C E N S U R E

ON

SIR RICHARD GARNER

Lord Mayor of the Honourable City of

LONDON

August 13. 1642.

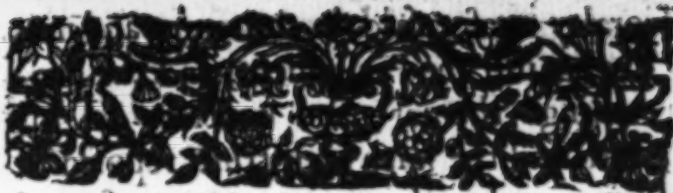
WITH

The Articles of His Impeachment, wherein
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high misdemeanors, committed by the said Sir
Richard Garner, during the time of his
Mayoralty.



LONDON:

Printed for Iohn Cawte. August 13. 1642.



has doquing tothe as draw has : and
The Impeachment of the House of Commons
against Sir Richard Gurney, Knight
and Barronet, Lord Mayor of the City
of London.



1642, That the said Sir Ri-
 chard Gurney being nomi-
 nated, elected, and chosen
 Lord Mayor of the said Ci-
 ty of London for this pre-

sent year 1642. and in the
 year of our Sovereign Lord King Charles
 of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland
 etc. the eighteenth : Whereby the Or-
 doring rule and Government of the said
 City of London, was committed to the
 trust care and charge of him the said Sir
 Richard Gurney, At the said Sir Richard
 Gurney in or about the Month of June
 last past, and during the time of his Ma-

juralty as aforesaid, in contempt and malice against the Parliament, and the Proceedings thereof, and contrary to his Oath and the faith and trust reposed in him; and with an intent purpose and resolution, to overthrow the ancient Customes and Usages of the said Citie, and with an intent, purpose and resolution, to bring in an arbitrary and tyrannicall Government; contrary to the Lawes and Statutes of this Realm, and the settled Government established in the same Kingdom: And with an intent and endeavour, to levie War against the Parliament, did in or about the Month of *June* last past, proclaim and publish, or did cause and procure to be openly read, published, and published, within the said City of *London* and Suburbs of the same, divers illegall Proclamations, containning in them matters of dangerous consequence, contrary to the Votes and Orders of both Houses of Parliament, and likewise contrary to the Rights and Priviledges thereof,

of, and the Liberty and Propriety of
the Subject.

Secondly, that where in or about the
moneth of **December** last past a great
number of his Maieslies dutyfull and
Loyall Subjects in and about the citie of
London did contrive and draw up a cer-
tain Petition wherein was contained ma-
ny of their grievances with an intent to
present the same to the Honourable
House, he the said **Sir Richard Gurney** be-
ing then and now Lord Maior of **London**
did earnestly labour and endeavour to
suppresse the said Petition and to hinder
the same from being delivered to this
Honourable House, and did menace and
threaten the said Petitioners, and im-
prisoned divers of them contrary to the
laws and Statutes of this Realm and con-
trary to the liberty of the Subject.

A 3 **Thirdly,**

Fourthly, That, whereas by Order of both Houses of Parliament, the said Lord Major was appointed to call a Common Councell, he refused so to do; and when a Common Councell was called by the said Sir Richard Gurney, he was moved on the behalf of both Houses of Parliament, that great quantity of Armes and other Ammunition, should be laid in some Store-houses within the said City, for his Majesties service, and the good and safety of the Kingdom; he the said Sir Richard Gurney being ill affected to the State, and the proceedings of Parliament, did in a most obstinate and malicious manner withstand, refuse, or gainsay the same, contrary to the Order of both Houses of Parliament, giving many insolent speeches against the Authoritie thereof, with an intent and purpose to discourage all well-affected persons, to yeild obedience to the Orders of Parliament, and to make difference and division between his Majesty

VI
jesty and the Parliament. All which mat-
ters and things have been perpetrated, com-
mitted and done by him, the said Sir Richard
Gurney, during the time of his Majesty's
aforesaid.

The Censure of the Lord Mayor the

12. of August. 1642.

I. That the said Lord Mayor shall not be
capable to beare any Office of Honour or
trust in the Common-wealth.

II. That he shall be degraded of all his
Honours and Titles.

III. That he shall continue Prisoner in
the Tower, during the pleasure of the Par-
liament.

FINIS.

R

RELATION

Of all the passages and proceedings
in Somersetshire, and Bristol, with
their valiant Resolution to fight for the
King and Parliament.

With a speech made by his Excellence the Earle
of Essex, concerning the Kings Proclamation
read at a Conference on Thursday
the eleventh of August, 1647.

*R.
Somerset
County*

CERTAIN REASONS WRITTEN

by a private Gentleman, shewing the cause
wherefore some are rayed by both houses
of PARLIAMENT.

Ordered by the Lords that this be forth-with Printed.

John Baskin Clerke Parliamentar

LONDON

Printed for W. Gay, 1647.



A brief Relation of the proceedings in Somers-
setshire, and Bristol, &c.

UPON Munday the eighth of *August*, the Marquess of *Hartford*, with other Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen, lodged altogether at *Wells*, and had gathered together about 500 horses, well armed, and on Wednesday, the Gentlemen, viz. Sir *Ralph Hopson*, and others with all their horse came from *Wells*, were *Shannon* *Adelphi* upon a great Hill, where the people observing Posts were sent unto Sir *John Horner*, Master *Popham*, and others, certifying that these Cavaliers were coming to assault them, whereupon every man made ready for their coming, but the Cavaliers returned from the Hill to *Shipston*, and broke into many honest men's houses, and plundered them, and then the Country within being in feare of their lives, they stayed not, but went again to *Wells*. And on Friday morning they all marched to a great Hill four miles from *Wells*, being the place appointed for that day's meeting, whither came to meet them all that quarter of the Shire, very well armed, and some of the Committees met them, and Sir *Ed. Hungerford* lent arms unto the Volunteers, and within an houre there came in of the Country about 4000 to oppose the Marquess with the hazard of their lives, and there came out of *Wiltshire* about 200 horsemen, and 300 out of *Bristol* with Pistols and Carbines, and from *Gloucester*, there came about 300 men of Volunteers. These with the best discovered abundance of stoutnesse, and resolution, and there was two wayes load of powder, bullets, and match, and from *Bristol*, and foure small field-pieces, and when the Souldiers were put into order, they marched within sight of *Wells*, and pitched upon a great hill, and the day being decreed, and the resolution to be had for the present, so such was the courage and resolution of the people, that they would not depart that place, but lay all night upon the Hill, and spent the time in prayer, and singing Psalmes, and the next morning the Country within ten miles about sent in provision of all sorts, with Wayes and Cares, that there was sufficient and to spare, After breakfast the Souldiers were very eager to fall upon the Towne, whereupon the Committee and Deputy Lieutenants sent five propositions unto them, which if they did not presently give unto the Souldiers, would fall upon them, and they desired an houre or two sent to consider of it, and in the mean time the Marquess, Knights, Gentlemen and Cavaliers forsook the Towne, and rode away.

Upon all this relation you may clearly see the condition and stout resolu-

COMPARISON BETWEE NE

The late troubles in Scotland, and
the present Distractions in

England: compared with some
Antiquities.

Written by a private Gentleman.

I have bene ever held a rule or Maxim amongst all Nations, to make the defence of Religion the chief ground or cause of their Wars; sometimes for meer politick ends and by respects, sometimes to plant it where it is not, and sometimes to regulate it where it is. Amongst these the last seems most dangerous, because it seldom happens, but within the Territories of one and the same Prince, and so produceth the miserable effects of Civill Wars. But to come to my present purpose, wherein I intend in a comparative manner briefly to discourse of the late troubles that have hapned in Scotland, and in England.

And because my Needle hath not bene toucht (being the first that hath written upon this subject), If I vaunt in the Cause, I suppose I shall expect some favour, although I will not live for any Occasion, as unworthy of her for her that follows, himselfe follows, the worst Master that is.

The cause of all those troubles in *Scotland*, was Innovation in their Religion and violation of the ancient Laws and Statutes of the Kingdome, as did sufficiently appeare by their severall declarations. The chiefe plotters and contrivers of those distractions and distempers were Bishops, Papiſts, and a malignant party of others, that were ill affected to the Protestant Religion, who had a malicious and wicked intent to invade and bring into bondage both the souls, persons, and estates of three Kingdomes at once. And by making use of the great favour, powers and authority of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Clergy began to fall under a Censure, which was elevated to the thirty first degree, and began to follow the steps of *Thomas Becket* Archbishop of *Canterbury* in the time of *Hen. 2.* who forswore himselfe (by denying the power of the King) to enlarge the power of the Pope and to bring the Canon Law into this Land. In the passage whereof *Hen. 2.* playd *Adversus partem* and stabbed himselfe.

In *England* (as in *Scotland*) our Grievances are of two kinds, either such as concern the innovation of our Religion, or such as concern our Laws and Liberties as hath been often declared both by Petitions and Declarations. The fountain from whence these our evils have sprung hath (by too much experience) been found to arise from the before named Incendiaries of mischief, the Papiſts and Popish affected Clergy, with other of that malignant party. The Papiſts who are never wanting to use their utmost power and best skill to stir up Wars and dissensions betwene Kingdomes joyned themselves in their plotting and contriving with the Archbishop, as finding him a fit Instrument to work upon, being the darling of the time, as *Monsieur* was in the time of *Hen. 3.* the Clergy were gotten to that height that they commanded both persons and causes, their authority was advanced to that Supremacy and Greatnesse, that none might so much as question their doings. No doubt, but these men now thought themselves as great as *Anselmus* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, did in the time of *Edw. 1.* who took on him to be equall with the King, saying in one of his Epistles to the Pope, that the Plough of the holy Church is drawn by two Oxen, of equall strength and beaurty, the King and himselfe. Now they intended to make their Cannons and Decrees of that force, that none should dare presume to dispute on the lawfulnessse of them, like that

which was done in the 2. of *Hen. 2.*

learned Synod in the Reigne of *Rich.^{3.}* when *Thomas Becket* was Arch-
 bishop of *Canterbury*, where they decreed, that none should dispute upon
 the Articles determined in the Church, nor doubt of the authority of those
 Decrees: the offenders to the contrary should be pronounced Hereticks.
 Such was the misery that began to overtake us by the potent greivance
 of these aspiring spirits, that they intrenched temporall Jurisdiction, and
 would have had the whole sway in their own hands: but as *Saul* saith,
 for Priests to be temporall Judges, is to knit, that which will never be twi-
 sted; and for a Divine to meddle in Secular affaires is as if a bird in the
 Ayre should with the Mouldwarp worke in the earth.

To season this lump of matter every Kingdome hath many distinct and
 particular Laws or Customes after a government once settled not before: as
 a batch of bread consists of many distinct loaves after the distinction which
 before is contained undistinguished under one lump. A man consists of
 many distinct members, which at the first conception was not distinct.

In the next place I will give a touch of the effects that have hapned by
 the plots, counsells, and endevours of these croaking Frogs, or rather Spi-
 ders of the Common-wealth, who by issuing forth their deadly poison,
 have crackt the Venice glasse of our peate and tranquillity.

When *Scots* perceived their Religion betrayed, and their liberties
 intralled, and by the power and policie of these Instruments, their So-
 veraigns care stopped from their just complaints they openly declared their
 greivances and desired justice against the Infringers of their peace, where-
 upon their Enemies, perceiving the ends were not only likely to be fru-
 strated, but their lives and fortunes questioned, they turned their inve-
 sive counsells to advise his Majesty, that their Declarations were libellous, their
 Petitions, and behaviour rebellious. And so began to enforce by the ter-
 rour of an Army, that which policy could not accomplish. And like *Gau-
 do Godfrey* and others in the Reign of *Hen.^{3.}* began to act the part of their
 lawlesse rage by seeking utterly to destroy all those, that withstood their
 malicious and wicked enterprises, and by projects, and many heavy taxes
 oppressing the people at home, hoping by force to overthrow and cut off
 one Nation at a blow, and so to dreane the purles, and poll the estates of
 the other, that there should be no ability to gain-say them. And although
 at this instant there was no present Levies of Arms against the Subject in
England, yet the danger and successe both of an offensive or a defensive
 war do oftentimes prove to be of equall hazard, from which I conclude
 that the designe against *England* at that time was the same, and as great if
 not greater, then against *Scotland*.

I will not crush out my notes in this behalfe by any new division, and the portion I shall allow will not be large: therefore in this place I will come to give a touch, that when things were brought to this head, the Jesuits and Papists (who are alwayes thirsty after blood) now plot and contrive by all meanes the forwarding of these Wars as the only way to promote the Catholike cause. And perceiving that the want of money was likely to prove a great hindrance to their designe, they began to make great proffers, they will now be deemed his Majesties best Subjects. And as if the taxes under which the Protestants were too light a burthen, they will lay greater upon themselves: an hired servant that received not above forty shillings *per annum*, must pay five shillings towards the promotion of this cause. The Bishops and other of the Clergy who desired to goe hand in hand with them under colour of an Ayd. grant large Subsidies in their Synod. And therein shewed such forwardnesse that no doubt to advance those Wars they would have imitated the Clergy in *Hen. 2.* time which (although for another purpose) sold their Chalices to advance their own ends; And it is to be observed, that the before-mentioned persons that were (as I have said) the chiefe Agents and promoters of the Wars and difference between the two Nations *England* and *Scotland*, are the only Incendiaries and causers of the present difference betweene the King and the Parliament.

These persons when they were in the height of their glory, might justly have most cause to question their own strength; Christall that fairly glistereth doth quickly break, and as the ascent of usurped Royalty is slippery, so the top is shaking and the fall great.

A Parliament was now called in *Scotland*, and likewise another in *England*, his Majesty being graciously pleased to make sweetnesse and clemency the entrance to settle these distempered States, and (though it be a matter much questioned by those that observe the successe and event of things, whether his Majesty did it by compulsion and politick counsell rather then out of affection to his Subjects, or desire and intent to settle the distempers of both Kingdoms) he begins first with *Scotland*, heares their Petitions, grants their desires, and settles all their grievances.

Here the current began to run smooth and cleere, now all rough waves seem to be gone and past the Sun shines bright and cleere, and the strength of our hopes gave us almost full assurance of the like happy successe.

His Majesty hastens his return from *Scotland*, declares his hearty desire to effect the like work in *England*, he is received with exceeding great ac-

clama-

animations of joy: *his assurance* is now given to our thirsty hopes: the Parliament begins to move in its proper Orbe. But here (me thinks) my discourse wants one of the three dimensions. It is long and broad enough, yet it wants depth to shew the occasion or reason of this sudden change.

Great things wee know are seldom effected without much difficulty (especially when they meet with strong opposition.) The malignana faction begin again to muster their forces: they perceive that if the Parliament should be suffered to goe on prosperously, their present plots and enterprizes would not only be made frustrate and void, but the knot so broken and their wings so clipped, that they should never be able to put in practice any more notorious Actes suitable to their desires.

The Detail in drawing of his plots never wants Instruments.

Now they renew the former pernicious counsels, and consider that their ends will tickle flatter in competition with a Parliament, and therefore endeavour to overthrow not only some Members of both Houses, but also the very essence and being thereof, so that herein will appear the disparity of the subject of my discourse, that the Parliament in *Scotland*, did finish that in three moneths that the Parliament in *England*, hath laboured after above twelve moneths, and yet cannot accomplish.

Here (me thinks) this *Stem* in my hand is so twisted by reason of the ensuing lines of my discourse, that I cannot without entangling winde it upon a proper bottom. The Parliament in *England* (which hath always been held the sovereign cure to heal the distempers of the Kingdome, and the safest and most faithfull Counsell of the Kings of this Land, without whose advice in the most flourishing times of this Kingdome, the Kings themselves would not undertake any great designe: which was the reason that *Ed.* being animated to goe with the King of *France*, to the holy Wars, refused to goe without the consent of his Parliament, and caused a Parliament to be called for that purpose. But through the unheard of opposition that hath bene from time to time made against the Parliament, and their proceedings either by increase and multiplicity of businesse, or new plots and devices continually framed and contrived by the malignant party which have often endeavoured the ruine and destruction of the whole Kingdom, that during all this space of time (without most eminent danger to the whole State) they have had no leisure to render to offenders the just reward of their merits, so much as *his Majesty* being seduced by wic-

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ked Countsell) to redresse all our grievances having sufficient labour and
toyle with all their might to underprop, and uphold the tottering fabrick
of this dislempered Kingdome, to that although there appeare some dispa-
rity between the happinesse of the successe of the Parliament in *England*
and *Scotland*, yet herein (mee thinks) my notes have the vertue of a Look-
ingglasse to shew and represent that which is before as wel as that which is
behind. In this behalf this short discourse being fully lookt upon as in a
glasse, may shew the apparity of the the cause as it stood lately betwixt
the two Nations *England* and *Scotland*, and as it now stands betwene his
Majesty and the Parliament, the causes and the Agents being still the
same, the Papists and Popish affected Clergy still joyning together, and
doe at this present proffer great summes of money, and other assistance for
the advancing of Civill Wars in *England*. And although this that I have
said be sufficient for my present purpose, yet (mee thinks) I heare *Tilbury*
speak. It cannot fall within the compasse of mans knowledge to utter the
malicious intents and purposes of these persons. And as *Pliny* sheweth
that all *Homer's Hades* were written in a Nothell, the whole matter of
my discourse, it may be you shall judge it all shell and no kernell, but my
metall is inoulen, and my bellows by often blowing have let out all their
breath.

The Earle of Essex's Resolution.

ON Thursday the eleventh of *August*, a Proclamation was sent from
the King to the Parliament, proclayming the Earle of *Essex*, and
all that serve under his command, or adhere to him, Traitors,
which being read in the House of Commons, they desired a conference
with the Lords, at which conference it was declared by the House of
Commons, that they had considered of the reasons of their taking up of
Arms, which was for defence of the Kingdom, the Laws of the Land, the
Priviledges of Parliament, and the Liberty of the Subject, and therefore
resolved that all thole terrifyng threatnings in the Proclamation should
not make them desist from going on in the defence of so just a cause.
Whereupon the Earle of *Essex* said that hee would use his best skill
and utmost endeavour, even to the losse of his dearest blood in the state
they had conferred on him in maintaining the said cause.

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An Advertisement
To the whole
KINGDOME
OF
ENGLAND,

But more especially to the C I T I E of
L O N D O N, speedily to consider their
present Dangers, and prevent
their approaching Miseries.

With some directions tending to both.



L O N D O N, *Aug. 13.*
Printed by R. O. and G. D. in the Yeare 1642.



11. 1891



(1)



AN
ADVERTISEMENT
TO THE
VVHOLE KINGDOME
OF
ENGLAND.



It is now no time to write long Discourses, when you
heare the Drummes beat daily, and see the Sword
not only drawn over you all, but sheathed in the
Bowels of some of the Nation, in defence, of that
Cause concerns you all.

The Warre (for now it may so be styled) being as
you all know, for Defense of the King and Kingdom, in their Religion,
Laws, Liberties, and Priviledges of Parliament, which are granted (of
all hands) to be due and belonging to you all. And His Majestie
in all His Messages and Declarations, sent to the Parliament, ac-
knowledgeth so much, and often Promiseth and Proceiteth before
God and the World, he intends you so much; and that you and your
Posterities shall enjoy them.

How then can it be, that a quarrell should be raised to this height
between the King, the Parliament and People, both pretending one
and the same thing, namely, *The good and safety of the*

Certainly it is a strange Paradox to many, and the common say-
ing must of necessity be true, *Aliquid licet, quod non paret*; and it con-
cernes you all now to search deeply into this secret, and not to be
Stupid, Ignorant, Content persons, seeing the Life or Death of the
whole Kingdome rests upon it.

The Matter, (*The good and safety of All*) being thus assuredly concluded to be the intention of All; Then the Cause of all Difference (now appearing) is, *Who shall be trusted with the Militia and Arms of this Kingdome, to preserve it and the People thereof in safety, whether the King or the Parliament?* For which purpose (as you all knew) much time hath been spent, and great pains taken on both sides, to search Records, and interpret Laws, that so it might appeare to whom this great Trust (*The preservation of the whole Kingdome in this time of common Danger*) doth truly and properly belong.

Not to spend time in reminding you of all those particular Causes and Reasons, the Parliament have shewed and given, in their severall Remonstrances and Declarations to the Kingdome, and in their Petitions, Answers, and Replications to His Majesty (sufficient to satisfie a world of Wise men;) Neither of the inequality and dishonour (if not Injustice) done to the Parliament, being the Great Councell of the Kingdome in giving credit to the Councells and Interpretations of obscure and unknowne persons, (to say no more of them) and to desert the visible known, and apparent Councells, Wisdom, and Justice of the Parliament; and such a Parliament the like whereof for Integrity, Fidelity, Wise, Temperate and quiet bearing, the Indignities, Reproaches, and Vilifications layd upon their Persons and Councells and affronts and Violence offered to their Priviledges, your Ancestors never had; Neither can you or your posterities expect to be better served. Neither to trouble you with Remembrance of those notorious practises and delignes your Eyes have seen, and your Eares have heard, for the defeating or destroying this Parliament, and that good you should receive by them; Nor yet with the lamentable condition that People and Countrey is in, when God hath so farre withdrawn the heart of their King (the Father of their Countrey) from them as for a Ceremony, the having His own Will for now, (in appearance it is no more) to give them over to be torn in pieces one of another, and to swim in their own blood.

Let me lay down some few particulars to your understanding, and for the more cleare apprehension of those hidden ends and intentions, doe not visibly and commonly appeare to all, being the very true Causes of all your present troubles: which the Wisdom of this Parliament, did see long agoe, and make known unto you in
their

their Remonstrances and Declarations sent abroad; and though a spirit of error and stupidity had seized upon you then, you could not see, or would not believe. It is to be hoped the things you heare and see now come to passe, may awaken you out of that slumber: for though (former dayes considered) it may be a fine sight to see twenty Colours Marching out of *London* in one day; yet, the Cause, the Persons that do oppose, and the events may follow (more seriously considered) may strike very many sad thoughts, into the heart of a meane capacity.

The persons by whom His Majesty is thus Seduced, and at this time led into this bloody Warre against His Parliament and Kingdome, are of Six severall Ranks and Conditions, and have six severall ends and intentions whereat they ayme.

The First of them goe under the Name of CAVALIERS: (who though it be true) that many of them are Gentlemen of good Birth, valiant, of good naturall parts literature and education, both at home and abroad; yet for the most part Men, of mean Estates, odious Lives, and desperate Fortunes, whose end is Plunder and Pillage; for, as to Religion and Conscience, they are (most of them) strangers and passe not which side prevaile, nor what becomes of all, so they may enrich themselves upon the spoyles of any. These being the first sort of men who have appeared to doe his Majestie service, and animated him thus far to take up a War against his *Parliament* and people; and these be their ends.

The second ranke of men are popish Recusants, and such who are popishly affected, whose end is to recover and re-establish the popish Religion within this kingdome, for these are many of them wise, men of quality and greates estates, not willing to admit of plunder and pillage, or to loose their peace and long continued freedoms, if with them, their Religion might also continue: but feareing the heate of this pretent Parliament and what they may doe therein, they rather choos to run the hazard with the Cavaliers, then put themselves and their cause upon the Parliament, knowing (if they can make no better of it) confusion is a way may serve their ends.

The third sort are Delinquents, and guilty persons of all sorts, such as feare the Justice of the Parliament, in the due execution of Lawes against them, for all the evils and mischiefs the Common-wealth hath had and suffered by them, and these men (being

not a few) come themselves with the two former, in hope of Court protection against the justice of the Parliament.

The Fourth sort are the corrupt, proud Prelaticall part of the Clergy of *England*, some of whom are superstitiously corrupt in judgement, in the points of Doctrine they hold and teach: others of them, ambitious seekers of Court favours; many of them guilty of foule offences, all of them discontented with the Parliament and their proceedings, and so vitiated with ease and plenty, and conscious to themselves of the evils the Nation hath sustained by them, that they can with some content see it in Confusion, hoping thereby to recover what they have lost, or at least to hold fast what they have.

The Fifth sort, are such of the Nobility and Gentry of the Land who having long lived in a dissolute way of liberty without restraint of their sensuall pleasures and delights, are now unwilling to admit of such Reformation the Parliament in discharge of their duty and Conscience, thinke meet should be imputed upon them.

The Sixth and last Sort, are such of the generall Multitudes of the Land, who by reason of Ignorance and inability to discern, what may be the issue and successe of these beginnings, and out of other Relations, and reports they have, are led on by some of the former sorts of men, to assist them in things they neither understand nor consider, may prove their owne ruine.

If these be the persons by whom his Majestie is seduced and these their severall ends, which is cleare and obvious (as the Sun that shineth to all that will understand) how much then is this Kingdome beholding to these Lords, Gentlemen and Judges, that have left the great Assembly their Councells and wises, tending to such peace and Tranquility, as this Nation was in hope to see, and contrary to their presence, their Councells and Powers to bury themselves and their Countrey in a gulph of Captivity; the bottom whereof this present age will not be able to Fathom: Assuredly whilst the Honour and Renown of the ancient *Romans*, who were the Conservators of their Countrey doth continue and live, the dishonour and infamy of such Men will hardly die.

For admitting the right of disposall the Militia and Armes of the Kingdome, to be justly and solely in his Majesties power, without the Parliaments consent, as these Lords and Gentlemen would have

have it: was it equall, safe, just and honourably done of them, to withdraw, or consent, much lesse to advise, animate and assist his Majestie to dispose of it without his Parliament. in such a time as this, when themselves had seen and heard, by the multitudes of complaints and grievances presented to this present Parliament; what a sinking condition this Common-wealth was in: how neere both Church and State were to perish by wicked Councillors, and how those Councillors had surrounded his Majesty?

But you must pray, and may hope, God will shew them their great error, and injury done to this Nation, and themselves herein, that the sense thereof may yet prevail with them to become humble and earnest suitors to his Majesty to returne to the Counsell of his Parliament, and so recover the honourable esteeme they had, and may yet have in the hearts of the people.

Thus have I briefly declared unto you, what my opinion is, concerning the severall sorts of Men, Seducers and seduced, with their severall ends and intentions, that you may consider and know what to expect, if their Councell should prevail: (protecting from my soul) against all hatred or disaffection, to them or any of them, other then as they are, or may prove Enemies to God, the King, and Kingdome for his Majestie can have no more or greater assurance of these men in time to come, (admitting their Councells should at present prevail) then the *Kingdome* now hath, for they who for their owne ends care not to betray a kingdom, wherein they have so many bonds of interest, as Nature, Nation, Blood, Friendship, and acquaintance, may challenge from them, no man, (endowed with reason) can thinke they will spare to betray a King; when it may serve their owne ends. Which being an undeniable conclusion of truth, you are all bound as well to defend His Majesties Royall Person and posterity from dangers future, as your selves and your Estates, from dangers present.

Out of all which, I would commend to your most serious consideration, two things.

First to consider what an engagement lies upon the persons and Rankes of men before named, to maintaine and fight for the quarrell they have now begun, seeing they fight for things most precious in the esteeme of Man, as his Religion, substance and plentifull maintenance, exemption from Laws and punishment, and continued

usual woodsome in censuall pleasures and delights, he that will not fight for these being no man, or at least not a man of this World.

Secondly, to consider what quarter you may expect from these sorts of men, in case they should prevaile in the Warrs they have now begun, when you have opposed their Gods, their Lives, their credits, their lusts, things all of them most high in the estimation of many. And who bee the men have thus opposed them? a sort of factious turbulent, seditious, Malevolent spirits; Disturbers of the peace and glory of a Nation, and therefore fit for nothing (being vanquished) but either not to live, or to live as slaves in a Nation; And this must be the condition of the Rich as well as the poore, the Wealth of the one exposing them to more misery then the povertie and contempt of the other.

Who may remember the Story of the Turke at the taking of *Constantinople*. And another before that, *when the Turke having taken a Citie in Egypt, wherein very many Rich men, who had great summes of Gold and Silver by them (as many rich men in London now have) which when the Turke saw, hee demanded of his Captaines and Cavaliers, What should be done with these rich men? who answered, it would be best and safest to hang them all up, for being so rich they would never make good slaves.*

Two things, I would also commend unto you as remedies: first, if there appear in this paper any thing worthy your consideration you would abstract it into a short Petition, and speedily present it to his Majesty, of whom you cannot bee out of hope, if you can but come to possesse him with truth: remember your brethren of *Scotland* how farre they proceeded in this kind, the way they tooke, and the successe they had. God is the same in power and compassion, to the Nation of *England*, though it may be feared they have more provoked him, then the Nation of *Scotland* have done.

If this way will not prevaile, then joyn heads, hearts, hands, Estates, and all you have, unanimously to fight for your King, your country, your Parliament, your selves, your Religion, your Laws, Liberties, and Lives, and all that is yours, and remember the cause is not so much yours as Gods, and that you are to fight against a people (doe more then ever Nation did) willingly fight themselves and their Posterities into Slavery.

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THE ²
RESOLUTION

Of the Earle of
ESSEX.

*Deveraux
App*

To the King most Excellent
MAJESTIE.

WHEREIN
Is declared his Honourable Intentions
to attaine nothing but what shall tend to
advancement of His Majesties honour and
the good of the Common-wealth.

Wherunto is annexed,
The Declarations of the Lords and Commons
concerning the Actions of the Malignant
Partie of this Kingdome.

*Ordered that this be printed and published,
Hen. Blisau, Clr. Parl. D. Com.*

August 13. Printed for T. Rider. 1642.

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THE
RESOLUTION

Of the House of

COMMONS

To the King most Excellent

MAY BE IT

WHEREIN

Is declared his Honourable Intention

to attain nothing but what shall tend to

the good of the Commonwealth

the good of the Commonwealth

Whereas

The Resolutions of the House of Commons

concerning the Affairs of the Kingdom

being of this Kind

Ordered that this be printed and published

At the Printing Office of the House of Commons

Printed by J. Smith for T. Bland 1642.

(1)



The Resolution of

His Excellency the Earle

of E S S E X



HE Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, having practised by severall endeavours to suppress the actions of the evill affected part of this King-

dome, to which end they cut off all Monopolies and Taxes that lay heavie upon the Subject, withall seeking to reforme all

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those misdemeanours which were lately crept into the Church and Commonwealth, bringing to condigne punishment all such as were offenders, that their examples might deterre others from committing the like wicked crimes and Misdemeanours.

Which the Malignant partie seeing and knowing that their painted dissimulation would not endure the test if brought to tryall they by all meanes that possibly they could, endeavoured to cause a division betweene the King and Parliament, striving to foment jealousies and Feares, which were not thought of, and therefore causelesse not of any dangerous consequence, either to His Majesties Honour or Person.

Nevertheless so farre they prevailed with His Majestie, as that he absented himselfe from His parliament, and withdraw himselfe into the North, where after some Moneths residence they caused His Majesty to ingage himselfe in a warre against
His

His Parliament, and so consequently against His Subject.

To which end by His Majesties command the Gentry and Commonalty of *Yorkshire* were caused to bring in their Horses and Armes.

Which being effected, these new raised Forces was caused to march against *Hull*, where they besieged it, using many Hostile Actions and attempts against the Inhabitants of the said Towne.

Which the Lords and Commons being informed of, and finding the great detriment that such actions and warlike attempts might doe to the Subject, if suffered to goe on; wherefore they sent to his Majesty a Petition for Pacification.

Which Petition was received by His Majesty with little or no show of Love or kindnesse, as may appeare by the sequell of His Answer to the said Petition.

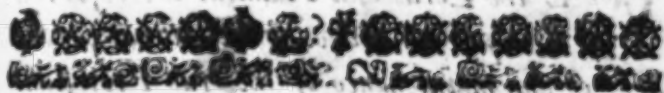
Which the Lords and Commons finding, thought it high time to secure the whole

whole Kingdome, His Majesty being resolved to proceed in the course which he had begun, wherefore they resolved that an Army should be raised under the command of His Excellencie the Earle of Essex.

Which he according to his Allegiance to His Majesty, and duty to his Countrey, with willingnesse accepted of it, for which cause they wrought His Majesty to be incensed against him.

Which caused His Excellencie to declare his Resolution, that he is resolved to put nothing in Act, but what shall tend to His Majesties Honour, safety and security, and the good both of Church and Religion.

Likewise the Lords and Common doe declare, That they will alwayes preferre the generall good before their owne lives and fortunes, for the defence and maintenance whereof they are resolved to hazard the same.



The Declaration of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament.

He Lords and Commons doe declare, that they only aime at, and desire nothing more then to maintaine the purity and power of Religion, and to honour the King in his just and Regall Prerogatives, esteeming nothing like the Liberty, Peace, and Safety of the Kingdome, nor thinking any thing to be too good to be hazarded in discharge of their consciences for obtaining it: Alwayes reposing themselves in the protection of Almighty God, which they are confident will never be wanting in his blessing towards them, while they seeke his glory, as they have found him wonderfully going along with them in all their proceedings.

Wee

WE the Lords and Commons are resolved
to expose our Lives and Fortunes for the
defence and maintenance of the true Protestant
Religion, the Kings Person, Honour and E-
state, the Power and Priviledge of Parliaments
and the just Right and Liberties of the Sub-
ject.

And Wee doe require all those who have any
sence of Piety, Honour, or Compassion, to help
a distressed State, and to come in unto our aid,
and assistance: This being the true cause for
which we raise an Army, under the Command
of the Earle of Essex, with whom in this cause
wee will live and dye.

Ordered that this be printed and published,
Hen. Elsing, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

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A
REMONSTRANCE
AND
RESOLUTION OF
THE KINGDOM OF
SCOTLAND.

K

Shewing the lawfulnessse of the
second coming into *England* to take up
Arms against all those that shall oppose
the *PARLIAMENT*.

Published with the advise of the Coun-
cell of S C O T L A N D.



Printed first in *Scotland* by Robert Bryson, and now Re-
Printed at LONDON for G. T. 1642. Aug. 19.

REMONSTRANCE

AND
RESOLUTION OF

THE PARLIAMENT OF

SCOTLAND

IN FAVOR OF THE REVOLUTION OF 1789

AND IN FAVOR OF THE REVOLUTION OF 1789

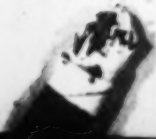
AND IN FAVOR OF THE REVOLUTION OF 1789



AND IN FAVOR OF THE REVOLUTION OF 1789



Printed at London 1790. Price 1s. 6d.





THE
LAVVFULNESSE OF
our expedition into *England* Manifested.

AS from the begining till this time, we have attempted nothing presumptuously in this great worke of Reformation, but have proceeded upon good grounds, and have been led forward by the good hand of God, so now, from our own perswasions are we ready to answer every one that asketh us a Reason of this our present Expedition, which is one of the greatest and most notable parts of this wonderfull worke of God, beseeching all to lift up their minds above their own particulars, and without prejudice or partiality to lay to heart the considerations following.

I. As all men know and confesse, what is the great force of necessity and how it doth justify actions otherwise *unwarrantable*: So can it not be denied, but we must either seeke our peace in *England* at this time, or lye under three heauey burthens which we are not able to beare. First, we must maintain Armies on the Borders, and all places nearest to hazard, for the defence and preservation of our Countrey, which by our laying downe of Armes, and disbanding of our Forces should be quickly over-run by hostile Invasion, and the incursions of our enemies. Secondly, we shall want all Trade by Sea, which would not only deprive the Kingdome of many necessities, but utterly undoe our Burroughes, Merchants, Mariners, and many others who live by Fishing, and by commodities exported, and imported, and whose particular callings are utterly made void, by want of commerce with other Nations and Sea-trade. Thirdly, the Subjects through the whole Kingdome shall want administration of justice; and although this time past, the marvellous power and providence of God hath kept the Kingdome in order and quietnesse, without ordinary Judicatories sitting, yet cannot this be expected for afterward, but all shall turne to confu-

sion. Any one of the three, much more all of them put together, threaten us with most certain ruine, unless we speedily use the remedy of this Expedition. And this we say not from feare, but from feeling; for we have already felt, to our unpeakable prejudice, what it is to maintaine Armies, what to want traffique, what to want administration of Justice. And if the beginning of those evils be so heauey, what shall the the growth and long continuance of them prove unto us; so miserable a being, all men would judge to be worse than no being.

II. If we consider the nature and quality of this Expedition, it is defensive, and so the more justifiable. For prooffe hereof, let it be remembered: 1. The Kings Majestie misled by the crafty and cruell Faction of our Adversaries, began this years Warre, not we. When Articles of pacification had been the other yeare agreed upon, Armes layd downe, Forces and Castles rendred, an Assembly kept and concluded, with the presence and consent of His Majesties High Commissioner, the promised ratification thereof in Parliament (contrary to the foresayd Articles) was denyed unto us. And when we would have informed His Majestie by our Commissioners, of the Reasons and manner of our proceedings, they got not so much as presence or Audience. Thereafter His Majestie being content to heare them; before that they came to Court, or were heard, Warre was concluded against us at the Council-Table of *England*, and a Commission given to the Earle of *Northumberland* for that effect: The Parliament of *Ireland* and *England* were also convocat for granting of Subsidies unto this Warre against us, as it not our: plots have bene hatched, and military preparations made against us; many invasions by Sea, which have spoiled us of our Ships and Goods; Men, Women, and Children kill'd in *Edinburgh* by His Majesties Forces in the Castle: Our enemies therefore the authors and beginners of the Warre, and we defenders only. 2. We intend not the hurt of others, but our owne peace and preservation, neither are we to offer any injury or violence: And therefore have furnished our selves according to our power with all necessities, not to fight at all, except we be forced to it in our owne defence, as our Declaration beareth. 3. We shall retire and lay downe our Armes, as soone as we shall get a sure peace, and shall be satisfied in our just demands. Upon which ground, even some of those who would seem the greatest Royalists, hold the Waives of the Protestants in *France*, against the King and the Faction of the *Catholics* to have bene lawfull defensive Waives, because they

they were ever ready to disband and quiet themselves when they got assurance of peace, and liberty of Religion. Now this present Expedition being in the nature of it defensive; hence it appeareth, that it is not contrary. but consonant to our former Protestations, Informations, and Remonstrances: In all which, there is not one word against defensive Warre in this cause; but strong reasons for it. all which militate for this Expedition. Our first Information sent to *England* this yeare, though it accuseth all offensive or invasive Warre; yet sheweth plainly, that if we be either invaded by Sea or Land, we must do as a man that fighteth himselfe out of prison. If a private man when his house is blocked up, so that he can have no liberty of commerce and traffique to supply himselfe and his Family, being also in a cotinuall hazard of his life, not knowing when he shall be assaulted by his enemies, who lye in waite against him; may in this case most lawfully step forth with the Forces which he can make, and fight himselfe free. Of how much more worth is the whole Nation. and how shall one and the same way of Defence and liberation be allowed to a private man, and disallowed to a Nation?

III. Thirdly, we are called to this Expedition by that same Divine Providence and Vocation, which hath guided us hitherto in this great businesse. We see the expedience of it, for the glory of God, for the good of the Church, for advancing the Gospel, for our own peace, after seeking of God, and beging light and direction from Heaven, our hearts are inclined to it; God hath given us zeale and courage to prosecute it, ability and opportunity for under-taking it, Instruments fitted for it, unanimous resolution upon it, scruples removed out of minds where they were harboured, encouragements to atchieve it from many passages of Divine Providence; and namely from the proceedings of the last Parliament of *England*, their grievances and desires being so homogeneall and a kinne to ours, we have laboured in great long-suffering by Supplications, Informations, Commissions, and all other meanes possible to avoyd this Expedition: It was not premeditate nor affected by us (God knowes.) but our enemies have necessitate and redacted us unto it and that of purpose to sow the seed of Nationall quarrel, yet as God hitherto hath turned all their plots against themselves, and to effects quite contrary to those that they intended; so are we hopefull, that our going into *England*, so much wished and desired by
our

our Adversaries, for producing a Nationall quarrell, shall so farre disappoint them of their aymes, that it shall linke the two Nations together, in straiter and stronger bonds both of civill and christian love, than never before.

And that we may see yet further evidences of a calling from God to this voyage, we may observe the order of the Lords steps and proceedings in this worke of Reformation. For, beginning at the grosse Popery of the Service Booke, and Booke of Canons, he hath followed the back trade of our defection, till he hath reformed the very first and smallest Novations, which entred in their Church. But so it is that this backe trade leadeth yet farther to the Prelacie in *England*, the fountaine whence all those Babylonish streams issu'd unto us: The Lord therefore is still on the backe trade, and we following him therein, cannot yet be at a stay. Yea, we trust that he shall so follow forth this trade, as to chase home the Beast, and the false Prophet to *Rome*, and from *Rome* out of the World. Besides, this third consideration resulteth from the former two; for if this Expedition be necessary, and if it be defensive, then it followeth inevitably, that we are called unto it, for our necessary defence is warranted, yea commanded by the Law of God and Nature, and we are oblig'd to it in our Covenant.

IV. Fourthly, the lawfulnessse of this Expedition appeareth, if we consider the party against whom; which is not the Kingdome of *England*, but the *Canterburian* faction of Papists, Atheists, Arminians, Prelates, the misleaders of the Kings Majestie, and the common enemies of both Kingdomes. We perswade our selves, that our Brethren and neighbors in *England*, will never be so evill advised, as to make themselves a party against us, by the defence and patrociny of our enemies among them, as sometime the *Benjamites* made themselves a party against the *Israelites* by defending the *Gibeathites* in their wicked cause, *Judges* 20. We pray God to give them the wisdom of the wise woman in *Abel*, who when *Joab* came neare to her Citie with an Armie, found out a way which both kept *Joab* from being an enemy to the Citie, and the Citie from being an enemy to him, *2 Sam.* 21. As touching the provision and furniture of our Army in *England*, it shall be such as is used among friends, not among enemies. The rule of humanity and gratitude will teach them to furnish us with necessaries, when as beside the procuring of our owne peace, we doe good offices to them,
They

They detest (we know) the churlishnesse of *Nabal*, who refused vi-
 ctuals to *David* and his men, who had done them good and no evil,
1 Sam. 20. And the inhumanity of the men of *Succoth* and *Penuel*,
 who denied bread to *Gideons* Army, when he was pursuing the com-
 mon enemies of all *Israel*, *Judg. 8.* But let the *English* do of their be-
 nevolence what humanity and discretion will teach them; for our own
 part, our Declaration sheweth, that we seeke not victuals for nought but
 for money, or security: And if this should be refused (which we shall
 never expect) it were as damnable as the barbarous cruelty of *Edom*
 and *Moab*, who refused to let *Israel* passe through their Countrey, or
 to give them bread or water in any case, *Numb. 20. Judg. 11.* and
 this offence the Lord accounted so inexpressible, that for it he accursed the
Edomites and *Moabites*, from entring into the Congregation of the
 Lord, unto the tenth generation, *Dent. 23. 3. 4.*

V. The fifth consideration concerneth the end for which this voyage
 is under-taken. We have attested the *searcher of hearts*; it is not to
 execute any disloyall act against the Kings Majestie, it is not to put forth
 a cruell or vindictive hand against our Adversaries in *England*, whom
 we desire only to be judged and censured by their own Honourable and
 high Court of Parliament: it is not to enrich our selves with the wealth
 of *England*, nor to doe any harme thereto. But by the contrary we
 shall gladly bestow our pains and our means to do them all the good
 we can, which they might justly looke for at our hands, for the helpe
 which they made us at our Reformation, in freeing us from the *French*,
 a bond of peace and love betwixt them and us to all Generations. Our
 Conscience, and God who is greater than our Conscience beareth us
 record, that we ayme altogether at the glory of God, peace of both
 Nations, and honour of the King, in suppressing and punishing in a le-
 gall way of those who are the troublers of *Israel*, the fire-brands of hell,
 the *Korahs*, the *Balaams*, the *Doegs*, the *Rahababhs*, the *Hamans*, the
Tobiabs, and *Sandballats* of our time, which done, we are satisfied.
 Neither have we begun a Military expedition to *England*, as a mean for
 compassing those our pious ends; till all other meanes which we could
 thinke upon have failed us, and this alone is left to us as *ultimum &*
unicum remedium, the last and onely remedy.

~ V L Sixty, if the Lord shall blesse us in our Expedition, and our
 intentions shall not be crossed by our owne sins, and miscarriage, or by
 the

the opposition of the *English*, the fruit shall be sweet, and the effects comfortable to both Nations, to the Posterity, and to the reformed Kirks abroad: *Scotland* shall be reformed as at the beginning, the Reformation of *England* long prayed and pleaded for by the Godly there; shall be according to their wishes and desires, perfected in doctrine, worship, and Discipline: Papiſts, Prelates, and all the members of the Antichristian Hierarchy, with their Idolatry, Superſtition, and humane inventions shall picke them hence; the names of Sects, and Separatists shall no more be mentioned, and the Lord shall be one, and his Name one throughout the whole Island, which shall be glory to God, honour to the King, joy to the Kingdomes, comfort to the Posterity, example to other Christian Kirks, and confusion to the incorrigible enemies,



F F N F S.



17

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THE
PROCEEDINGS
AT
BANBURY

Since the Ordnance went down
for the Lord *Brooks* to fortifie
Warwick Castle,

And how they came to be delivered
to the Earle of Northampton and
his Company.

Also the Copie of a Letter from Warwick-shire.

MY Lord *Brooks* having fixe pieces of Ordnance
granted him from the Parliament to strengthen his
Castle at *Warwicke*, they were conveyed safe to
Banbury upon Friday the 29. of July, 1643. My
Lord *Brooks* coming from *Warwicke*, riding all
Friday night, came to *Banbury* by foure of the Clock on Saturday
morning, bringing with him about a hundred men to guard them
to

Aug. 13. A

to his Castle, and going out of *Banbury* about nine of the clocke that morning, divers of *Banbury* Gentlemen and others thereabouts going out with them; they had not gone above foure miles, but (according to their suspition, and some intelligence) the Earle of North-hampton appeared to them accompanied with about 150. or 200. horse, and about 200. Mu keteers and Pikes; the newes thereof being carried backe to *Banbury*, and townes adjoyning; presently the Lord *Brooke* was assisted with more men and munition, the Countrey came in very thick to his assistance, and but few to the Earle of North-hampton; but my Lord *Brookes* company increasing in a few houres to the number of a thousand at least, women also to his company bringing in Beere and Victuall in abundance, and six or seven cartload of harrowes to welcome their horses: The Earle of North-hampton seeing their forces increase so unexpectedly and the love of the Countrey brought in so fast; He curst and swore bitterly that he was come into the mouth of all the divels and Round-heads in the Countrey; he desired a parley with my Lord *Brooke*, and produced his commission of Array, and demanded the Ordnance; and said he must have them, the Lord *Brooke* affirming that he should not have them; on either side their forces standing upon their guard were ready presented to give fire upon the first word of command, the Lord *Brooke* his souldiers would faine have been at it, to make their way through them; but after three parleys between them, and many propositions desired and refused, they concluded, That the Ordnance should be returned to *Banbury*, and my Lord *Brooke* to give the Earle of North-hampton notice three dayes before he intended to remove them, and likewise that he should doe the like to my Lord *Brooke* before he should attempt any force for them, and ingaged their honours hereunto: to which conditions the Lord *Brooke* was perswaded and induced to, rather then to make that County the seat of warre, and to begin the Civill warre there upon that occasion, till he had made the Houses of Parliament acquainted therewith. In the Interim of this parley, the Lord *Brooke* his men had so beset and hamb'd in the Earle of North-hampton's men that they were glad they were out of their danger, for most of them knew nothing of this designe.

designe, but they should see a piece of Ordnance, and thought they should have onely trained, but when they saw themselves in that strait said afterward; before they would come upon such a designe againe with him they would be hanged at their doores, for had the word been but given, the Lord *Brook* having his Ordnance ready to give fire, and they none, they might easily have cut them off. But these conditions being concluded on, the Ordnance were returned to *Banbury* that night, and put into the Castle, and men to keep them; and my Lord *Broske* came up to the Parliament; In the meane time *Banbury* men doubting the worst and hearing rumours of the Earle of North-hamptons comming to fetch the Ordnance, prepared and fortified their towne as well as they could, in which course had they persisted, we are confident the Ordnance had beene there still: But those they tooke for friends afterward betraid them, as you shall heare by and by. The Castle on the one side of the Towne being double moored, they thought it indifferently secure, and where the towne was naked of defence, they fortified it with Harrowes and other devises to keep off the horse, and placed Musketeers to play upon them; The Countrey hearing of their feares and dangers divers came in thereabouts, and about 1500. out of North-hampton-shire with their armes, Colours and Captaines came in freely on Thursday night the fourth of *August*, and being welcomed and feasted next day by *Mr John Felmer*, and the towne also; Some of the men not thinking the danger so neere, they having urgent occasions went home, promising to come againe at an houres warning, and bring others with them; And on Saturday the rest were drawne away by a plot of the Cavaleers, who gave out and sent some to North-hampton, to make as if they would then besiedge it; North-hamptonshire men hearing this, had no mind to stay; but home they must, to defend their own countrey, wives, children, &c. *Banbury* after this sending out for ayde, and some in comming from *Buckinghamshire*, and other parts, the Cavaleers who kept the wayes, and began to draw neerer *Banbury*, sent scouts about to meet them and turn'd them back, telling them they came too late, there was nothing to doe at *Banbury*, all was quiet, and they had yielded up the Ordnance, and all was well; and some they disarm'd, and

tooke away their horses who were peremptory to come; neither could any thing be done in the town, but (doe what they could) their enemies knew it presently. And sending some of the country cunningly to tell them, who came as friends to advise them, and willed them to fortifie themselves very strong, for their enemies would come upon them with an over-powring multitude, thousands comming this way, and thousands that way, and so many thousands another way; their ayde being then withdrawn when they had most need: they hearing every day thousands were comming from London, yet none came, though all hast was here made that could be devised. They maintain'd their former fortifications of the Towne till Sunday night. And then being out of hope of helpe, and they at the weakest; And the Earle of North-hampton having planted three Ordnance on *Crowth* hill to command the Towne, supposed themselves not able to hold out two houres fight. Then was there also a plot beyond all the rest:

A Commander, one Captain *Austin*, who they had lately intertained to help and instruct them in their martiall affairs, and made great boasts what he would doe, and counsell'd them to those fortifications, and what an Army they could keep out with them, making a plausible speech perswaded them, that seeing now there was such a mighty force coming against them, and their aide was weak, so that it was not possible to keep the Town, he therefore advised them, it was the best way to get the best of their things into the Castle, and so secure themselves and children, and some of their goods, which after some debate they were most unhappily perswaded to, and on *Sunday* night removed their fortifications about the Town and gates, and drew them to the Castle to fortifie that more; which when the rest of the men, the women and children knew thereof, there was on a sodain such a lamentable schreeking and crying out throughout the Town not to be exprest with pen, whereby the whole Town were in such a maze, distraction, and confusion they knew not what they did, they were all masker'd Help gone, no forces to aide them, they had weaken'd themselves, their enemies coming in upon them; for their *Perda* had inform'd them so, whom they had privily sent out to lie by a lane side to hear of their coming. At which time also those few neighbours of the

the adjacent Towns that were left and stayed to assist them, fled also: then also the women and children of the Towne at the privatest wayes they could finde ran out of the Towne, carried and lug'd away their Children and goods all night, and every one cast about which way to shift for themselves: And those also who had brought much of their best goods and children into the Towne before from adjacent villages, (supposing they would be safer there then in their own Townes, they looking to be presently ransackt and pillaged) came hurrying all night into the Town as fast to fetch away what they had trusted there. Their Capitaine also formerly mentioned, when they were brought to this passe, run likewise out of the Town, and at his departure very early by break of day on *Munday* morning: was met flying and taking no other leave, but bid the party remember him to Colonell *Feines* (then in the Castle) and to Capitaine *Wiers*, and to tell them he was gone to call in the Countrey to aide them; which businesse with many other circumstances then made the Town think and say, of a certain they were betrayed. And now let the Reader judge, though we have no proofs but these deep conjectures, whether it was not so or no; and whether tampering and seeing had not brought this about. In this strait, their Pastours and Ministers lookt to be severely dealt with above all, either by forcing them if they could to burthen their Conscience, or in some other way as bad, having example newly acted since this businesse was first in agitation, of one *Mr Sutton*, a neighbour Minister, being taken by them, would have forced him upon his knees to drink a health to the confusion of all the Round-heads, but their liquor for the present failing, he got away out of their hands; and also to sweare that he should never preach, but would amply read the Common Prayer, nor never preach any more factious Sermons: And the chief man in this businesse no lesse then a Lord, And also grave & reverend *Mr Haue* (of *Hannell* neer *Banbury*) who preached lately at a fast before the Parliament, they ouer him and his family, took possession of his house on *Sunday* night, and made him wander for his lodging, and took possession of the *Lady Copes* house there, and of all the Armes, and ammunition they could meet with in the Town. Their enemies greatest force coming down *Hardwick* lane neer adjoyning to

the Towne, on *Sunday* night the 7th of *August*, very late, and very silent and still, and were heard by their Scout to say not a word, but softly *Troupe along, Troupe along*: But the night growing extreme dark, they for bore all that night, and being verily expected the next morn by break of day being *Monday*: the Cavaliers sent and desired a parley, and being met they told them many base lyes, perswading them to deliver up the ordinance, why should they hazard and loose their lives for that which was none of theirs, they came but for the Kings goods, and the Parliament regarded them not, and the Lord *Broske* would not owne them, nor come at them, and how weak they were, and how many would come against them, they could not hold out, but were all dead ever if they resisted, with many other assertions and perswasions, the same also being used by the aforesaid Capitaine a little before his departure, and counselled them to yeeld up and save their lives and goods, they were but small peeces, and could not advantage their enemies much, beside the same perswasions was used to one *Mr Wheatsly*, who being acquainted at the Earle of *Northampton* was sent by the Towne on *Sunday* morning to them, coming as of his own accord, that so he might learn what he could by them, who kept him all the day till night, till their designs were ripe, and in conclusion told him, they must either deliver the Ordinance, or they would fire the Towne, with mortar piece, and fire balls, which they had there for that purpose, then dismissing him he returned: The Town being in such a case, not knowing how they would deal with them, exposed themselves and Town on *Monday* morning, and in a while after they came in with about 5, or 600. horses, but 300. good ones, and the rest sorry Jades, any thing could get from the poor Country men, some at work; and as beggarly riders set on them, though for the present they flourished with money, yet their clothes betrayed them to be neither Gentlemen nor Cavaliers. And having fill'd the Town with horses the chief of them came to the Red Lion Inne, and desired to speak with Colonell *Feines* and Capitaine *Erners*, who were in the Castle, to whom reply was made, they should, if they would send two as considerable men in lieu, which they did, then they produced the Commission of Array, and required them to deliver the Ordinance, otherwise they would take them by force, and fire the

the Town. And having obtained that they came for the ordnance and ammunition thereunto belonging they clea'd the Town again, and were all departed before night, who carried them to the E. of Northampton house, and it was thought they intended to goe to *Wawicke* Castle next day, but the Lord *Brooke* had noe notice from the Earle of three dayes warning, as was agreed between them; There was also Colonell *Lunsford*, and divers Lords too long to name; Theretwas the Lord *Wilmet*, who kept backe the town of *Atherbury* from coming in to aide *Banbury*, and threatned he would hang up the men and leud the Souldiers to their Wives and Children; There was also the Lord *Danmore* who lately in his own Towne sent to the Constable for the Town Armes; the night before the Lord *Brooke* was to raise the *Militia* at *Warwick* and after much reasoning with his men, the Constable peremptorily told them he wou'd not deliver them, as being an officer intrusted with them for the good of the King and Kingdome; his men ask him, if he would not raise them under their Lord such a daye next week following? he answered, I, if the Parliament required him; hereupon his men fell into bitter rage and tearms, telling them he for his faction neither would ever be quier, till they had all their necks in a snittle, &c. with many other words to disgrace this ever to be honoured Parliament; Their Lord himselfe in other times after ward meeting the Constable, was in like rage & lost him, and in disgrace of the Parliament: and for the present they going away without them, a while after comes 6. or 8. of this Lords men, and of the Town together, commanding him to deliver the Armes, shewing the Commission of Array: but the Constable persisting in his duty, they violently rushed in upon him (to call forside in that Towne was but in vain) they ransackt the house, while some of them beat him; and held him three hours as a prisoner or felon, till they had the found the Armes forcing open doore after door, and chest after chest, and violently carried them away in this manner, and told him, if they could not find them, they would find him, for he should to prison. If these proceedings be according; to the known Lawes of the Land, let the world judge..

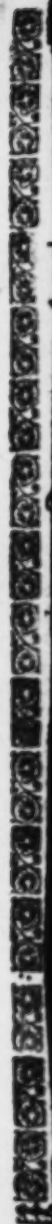
The



The Copie of a Letter out of *Warwick-shire*.

I Will not omit this weeks sending unto you, God knows whether wee shall ever send to you againe; for we have a mighty distracted Countrey, here is mighty providing for warres; there is about us foure or five hundred Troopers at *Rugby*, and *Hilmorton*; and other places about us, which puts us into a great fear, which they may very well; for they abuse honest people where ever they come; At *Rugby* they have taken away all their Armes, and violently assaulted Mr. *Nulton* in the Church, the last Sunday they came in with their weapons, and would have forc't him to read the Kings answer to the Parliaments petition, but that there was a young man stepped up and read it, I think it would have produced some ill effect, (which he did for quietnesse sake.) My Lord *Dunsmore* on Sunday last went towards *Banbury* with two load of ammunition for warre, those Troopers are all for him as we heare, but for what end we know not; some say they are to fetch the intercepted Ordinance at *Banbury*; others say for to disarm the Countrey, and indeed I think they are for both; they say the King will be here on *Wednesday*, and bring a mighty strength with him, we fear the Parliament forces are too slow; our Lord *Brooke* is not with us, we think him very long; I doubt they will doe us much hurt before he come; I pray God keep up the hearts and spirits of those Worthies in Parliaments, and of us all to resist those that would prey upon us; the yeomen of our Countrey stands our very well, but the Malignants draw abundance of the Rascalie of the Countrey after them, that I thinke they will be a great multitude; I pray God deliver us out of their hands; they threaten, curse and ban us most wofully, but yet we fear them not, if once we were set to the work; we know for whom we stand, for God who is able to deliver us, our eyes are upon him for all. In *Cranborne* parish, they hearing of *Rugby* businesse, they carried all their Armes being 16. to Mr. *Burnhams*, as conceiving them there safest, because the House is moved about, but the Troopers came so strong, they carried them all away, and where they will not deliver their Armes they kill, and take their horses away by force, ours are taken away this night.

August the 8.





THE
Resolution
OF
DEVONSHIRE
AND
CORNWALL
AND

12

Other adioyning Counties: with the names of the
Forts and Castles given up to the King.

WITH

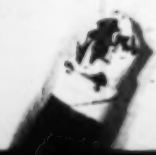
The Copie of a Letter written by *I. Ayre* Esquire
from *Portsmouth*, to *M. I. Arundell* in *London*,
shewing His Maiesties entertainment there,
and all proceedings since his Maiesties
coming thither.

ALSO

A true Relation of the Passages between the Cava-
liers at *Wels* in *Somerset-shire*, and the Traigned
Bands, with their Resolution for the defence of
the King and Parliament, and the number
of Voluntiers that came to assist them from the
neighbouring Counties.

Joh. Brown Cler. Parl.

Printed for *Richard West*. 1642. August 13.



(1)



THE COPIE
OF A
LETTER

WRITTEN

By I. Ayre Esquire, to M. John Arundell,

DECLARING
HIS MAJESIES PROCEEDINGS
at *Portsmouth* since his coming thither.

SIR,



Or your unwearied paines and courage for me in these dangerous times wherewith you have been encompassed, and in that you have minded nothing in all your consultations and endeavours but Gods glory, His

A 2

Maiesties

Maiesties honour and safety, and the Kingdomes good: In requitall of which, I have in part sent you the passages since His Maiesties arrivall amongst us at *Portsmouth*. We have had continuall rumours of wars in these parts, no other discouse stirring, but what hath possessed the subiects hearts with feare and terrour, by reason of the continuall expectation of blood, yet hitherto we see no such danger; but at his Maiesties approach the Governour humbled himselfe, and surrendred his charge. Then the Maior, and Aldermen, and inhabitants of the town made a guard, and waited on him to Sir *Henry Walker* his house, with about two hundred gentlemen on horse-back: and when he had viewed the town round, and saw it well fortified, he said, his Parliament hath had a great care both of the Kingdome and his Person, or to that effect: here was exceeding ioy, nay I dare boldly say, that from the greatest to the meanest, they had not the heart to resist his entrance, as Sir *John Horham* did at *Hull*. The Gentry of the Countrey have since flocked to the town in abundance, and happy they are to see his Maiesty; for it was reported that his Maiesty much grieved that Sir *John Horham* denied him entrance into the towne of *Hull*, and for that hee hath made such spoil, and undone so many men about him, and that he

he being a peaceable King, was desirous to leave the Northerne parts for feare of bloudshed amongst his subiects. Here is no suspicion of his Maiesty. The greatest Gentry in *Hampshire*, *Isle of Wight*, and other Counties have profered themselves to live and die in the defence of his Maiesty, and all his iust and lawfull prerogatives: and the Governour and Porter of *Hast Castle*, the Governour and Captaine *Burley* in *Yarmouth*, both places in the *Isle of Wight*, will be ready to resigne their places of trust, if his Maiesty please: also farther West, at *Waymouth*, *Poole*, and *Lyme* in *Dorsetshire*, *Apsom*, *Tingmoth*, *Dartmouth* and *Plymouth* in *Devonshire*, *Penderines*, *S. Mawes*, *Foy*, and *Helford* in *Cornwall*. All these places of strength, with the brave Commanders and Souldiers therein will be at his Maiesties service when occasion serves. There is likewise order taken, that those places of strength, as Castles, and Forts, which are any wayes decayed in the workes or fortifications, shall be speedily rectified and repaired. The Castle of *S. Mawes* in *Cornwall* is extremely decayed in plat-formes, Carriages, and want of Ordnance, being altogether unfurnished of any sort of ammunition whatsoever. There is order taken for the amending and supplying of these places, being of such great consequence. I understood a passage in a
Letter

Letter written unto me by my cousin *Aran-*
dell, that diverse gentlemen in *Lincolne-shire*
 and other Counties adia-cent should profer the
 King all they had, yea and venture their lives
 in His Maiesties defence, and the King made
 answer, their love should never be forgotten,
 and said, for their persons he desired not, but
 said, they would be then termed Papists, but
 for their money, horse, or amunition he would
 embrace, knowing them to be no Papists. I
 desire you to let me understand by the next
 Post of the passages in *Ireland*, but I feare that
 the distractions and divisions that have been
 raised amongst our selves, have much hindred
 their reliefe, and unlesse these impediments
 be speedily removed, that the aid and assistance
 intended for that service, wilbe still delayed
 and procrastinated, to the utter destruction of
 that Kingdome, without all hopes of recove-
 ry, or reducing the same to due obedience and
 subiection to the Crown of *England*, because
 they daily receive encouragement by occasion
 of our troubles here: It is to be feared that
 those barbarous and inhumane Rebels will
 scarce put an end to their divellish designs
 in *Ireland*, for the inhabitants of the City of
Bristow do now watch in Armes day and night
 to prevent the surprizing of the City by the
 Irish Rebels, who gathered a great army over
 against *Bristow*, which is within twenty foure
 houres

houres saile of that part of *Ireland*. After two dayes settlement with His Maiesty, our High Sheriffe and Deputy-Lieutenants were questioned for the putting of the *Militia* in execution, who answered as followeth, That what they did was by cōmand of both Houses of Parliament: And as for my part, quoth the Sheriffe, I that have formerly engaged my selfe for my King, and Countreyes good, am now ready, nay more willing then ever, to adventure both life, estate, liberty, and whatsoever els I may terme mine, for the good of the Kingdome, and advancement of his Maiesties honour, against any forraigne or civill enemy, Under the pleasing shade of whose Crowne we have ever gathered the fruits of justice; and upon whose happinesse the welfare of the whole Common-wealth principally depends, and our hopes principally consisting in his royall pleasure. I confesse, the jarres amongst our selves must needs be a point of great indignity and dishonour to our Realm of *England*, and a ioy to those which seek to subvert and confound our Lawes and Religion. But God grant by his goodnesse that the wisdomme of his sacred Maiesty, and good policie of the Parliament we may be all composed and brought to a happy reconcilment. *Vale.*

Yours with respect,
J. A.

The Lord Marquesse *Hartford* and the Cavaliers being posselt of *Wels*, the County of *Somerset* upon Friday morning last met at *Chewton*, about foure miles distant from *Wels*, where all the Trained Bands of that part of the Shire, especially *M. Pophams* Regiment, twice doubled in number by Voluntiers that came in completely armed. Scarce had they been two houres upon the hill, but the number increased to forty thousand. There came out of *Wiltshire* 300. Horsemen most of them well armed, besides three hundred other Horsemen from the city of *Bristol* men of good rank and quality, armed with Swords, Pistols and Carbines, with two waits loaden with powder match and bullet, and two other wi ns with foure small field-peecees, and two Gunners; and from *Glocestershire* three hundred Footmen Voluntiers led by an expert Commander, all resolving with the utmost of cheir power to fall upon the Cavaliers in *Wels*, & take them with the Marque, & bring them up to the Parliament, insomuch that the Committees and Deputy-Lieutenants could scarce restrain them. The next day while the Cavaliers desired time to answer the Propositions propounded by the *Somersetshire* men, lest the town and rode away, for feare of being taken by the countrey men.

Ioh. Brown Cleric. Parliament.

F I N I S.

From

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Instructions 13

From the Honourable House of
Commons Assembled

IN

PARLIAMENT,

TO THE

COMMITTEE

IN

KENT,

Whose Names are herein mentioned.

With the Answer of the Justices of
Peace to the said Committee.

Likewise certain Instructions from the said County,
to Mr. *Augustine Skynner*.

Ordered that this be forthwith Printed:

H. Elsyng, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

London, Printed for Thomas Cook, August 13. 1643.

Instructions

From the Honorable Secretary of the Navy
to the Honorable Commissioners of the Navy

Part I

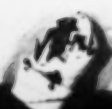
COMMITTEE

KENT

While the duty of the Navy
is to the Nation

It is the duty of the Navy
to the Nation

It is the duty of the Navy
to the Nation





WHEREAS

THe House is credibly inform'd, that some ill-affected persons within the County of *Kent* are now endeavouring to disperse rumors to the scandal of Parliament, and to censure the proceedings against the promoters of the late dangerous Petition; and they have plotted for this purpose to meet at the Assizes, the further to extend their malicious designs; It is therefore thought fit, and Ordered by the said House, That Sir *Edward Hales*, Sir *Henry Hayman*, Sir *Edward Partherich*, Sir *Tho: Peyton*, Sir *Thomas Walsingham*, Sir *Hen: Vane*, senior and junior, Sir *Francis Barnham*, Sir *Peter Wroth*, Sir *Norton Knatchbull*, Sir *Humphrey Tufton*, Sir *Edw. Boyse*, Mr. *Brown*, Mr. *Skynner*, Mr. *Lee*, Sir *Edward Adasters*, and Mr. *John Nut*, shall forthwith go down unto the said Assizes, and use all diligence to prevent such inconvenience, or any further Attempt that shall be offered to the prejudice of Parliament, and by all lawfull wayes and means to preserve the said County, not onely in peace amongst themselves, but in a right understanding of the proceedings of Parliament.

H. Elsynge, Cler. Parl. D. Com.



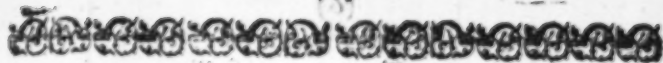
INSTRUCTIONS to the Committee.

YOU shall acquaint the Justices of Peace at the Bench, with the Contents of this Order, and let them know that our Houses tender care, and affection on to the peace of this Countrey, and the Kingdom; They have sent down, with Order and Instructions to use all lawfull means to preserve the said Countrey, not onely in peace amongst themselves, but also in a right understanding of the proceedings of Parliament, and do not doubt of their proceedings to comply with the House therein.

It is desired, according to the Instructions of the House of Commons, That you will give your best aid and assistance to this Committee, in performance of the Commands of the House, expressed in their Order herewith delivered.

That to this end this Committee may be seated at the Bench suitably to their Authority and Trust they represent, and to be ready to perform the commands of the House as occasion shall require.

THE



The Answer of the Justices of Peace.

THat the first demand being grounded (as we conceive) upon mis-informations, and in it, a great aspersions laid upon this Conntry, we not knowing any such endeavours as are expressed, it being as we hope, like to continue in secure peace, His Majesties Justices having their authority of the Great Seal of *England*, dare not in the execution of it, joyn with any.

That being demanded, this Committee may sit upon the Bench for the performing the commands of the House of Commons unknown to us, they do not know what place may be so suitable to the authority and Trust they represent, nor that we have power to place any on the Bench, nor sent thither by the like authority we sit here.



Instructions from the County of *Kent*, to Mr. *Augustine Skynner*.

WHEREAS

A Committe from the House of Commons is now sent down to the Assizes upon a credible Information (as they say) that something should be done

at

at this Affize to the disturbance of the peace of this County; We the Commons of *Kent* require you Master *Augustine Skyner*, as our servant, to certifie to that honorable House, that you found the country in full peace, and that there was no ground for any such Information; and that you desire in our names to know the particular of that Information (which it seems you are ignorant of) and the Informer, that this County may have full reparations in honour against so scandalous an aspersion cast upon them; and that the Informer, of what quality soever, may receive condigne punishment.

And that the House of Commons may understand our desires, not onely to preserve the peace of this County (which by Gods blessing, and the help of the good and known Laws of this Kingdom, we are confident we shall maintain) but also of the whole Kingdom, being now in so great a distraction, that every man stands at a maze to see what the event is like to be, and well weighing what a great fire a small spark may kindle, abhorring and detesting the thought of a Civil War: we forthwith require you to offer our humble advice, as faithfull and loyall Subjects to His Majestie, and good Patriots, and lovers of our Country, for settling the distractions of these times, one principall means to effect it, we conceive will be to give His Majestie full satisfaction in His just desires in these four particulars, viz.) In presently leaving the Town of *Hull* in the same state it was before Sir *John Hotwells* entrance into it, and delivering His Majestie His own Magazine. Secondly,

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ly, in laying aside the *Militia*: untill a good Law may be framed, wherein care may be taken, as well for the Liberty of the Subject, as the defence of the Kingdom. That the Parliament may be adjourn'd to an indifferent place, where His sacred Person, and all the Lords and Members of the House of Commons may meet, and treat with honour, safety and freedom. Fourthly, that His Majesties Navie may be immediately restored to Him.

FINIS.
